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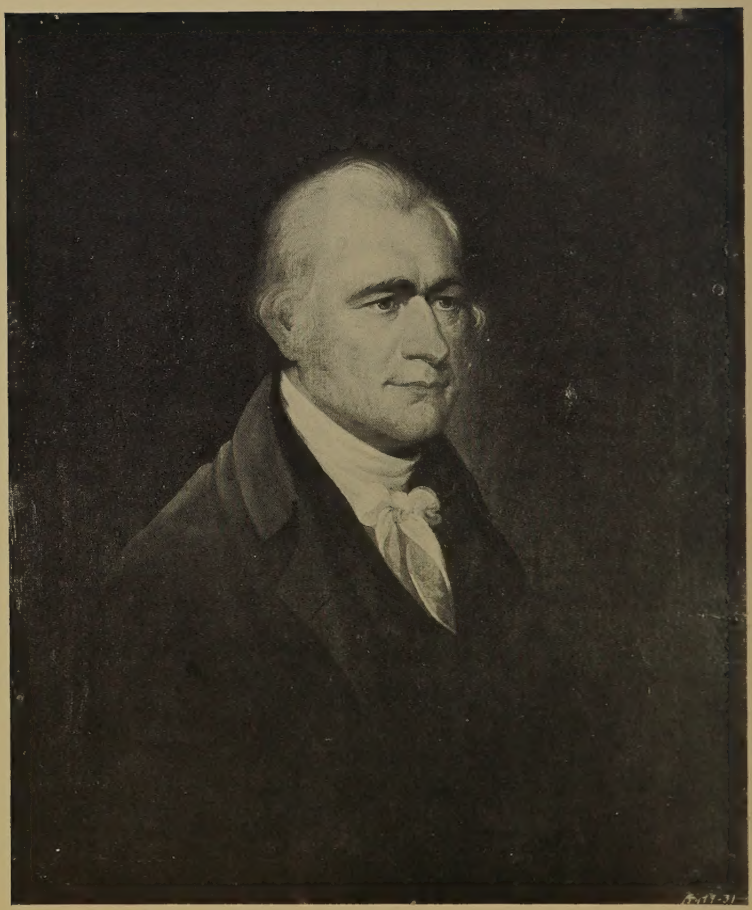


ALEXANDER HAMILTON (1757–1804)
Portrait by Ezra Ames, 1810
*Owned by Union College, Schenectady*

THE NEW-YORK
HISTORICAL SOCIETY
QUARTERLY

*January 1956*

VOLUME XL NUMBER ONE

*New York: 170 Central Park West*

# "A LOUD AND AWFUL WARNING"

## ELIPHALET NOTT ON THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER HAMILTON

*by* CODMAN HISLOP

*Professor of American Civilization*
*Union College, Schenectady, N. Y.*

HAMILTON'S DEATH struck most Americans, whether Federalist or Republican, as a national calamity but not as one sufficiently disastrous to swerve the ship of state from its set course—an event to elicit mourning, perhaps even indignation, but surely not the trembling of guilty consciences. When the Albany Common Council, however, invited a thirty-year-old divine to deliver an appropriate memorial sermon, no doubt they expected a eulogy—perhaps even a threnody—but certainly not a criminal indictment of the entire body politic before the bar of divine justice, much less a tocsin clang of universal doom! Yet precisely such "a loud and awful warning" resounded from the pulpit. The speaker opens for us a sudden and unexpected vista

upon the spiritual turmoil then agitating many communities of the New York and New England countryside. His "warning" sheds a light upon the inner character of this "Second Awakening" as exemplified by one of its most hopeful New York protagonists, and deserves attention as much for that reason as for the light it casts upon the apotheosis of the deceased statesman.

On Monday, July 16, 1804, the *New-York Gazette & General Advertiser*, in an issue entirely bordered in black, had reported:

> Last Saturday were interred, with all possible respect, the remains of Gen. Alexander Hamilton, the enlightened statesman, the skillful lawyer, the eloquent orator, the distinguished patriot, and the honest man. Never was the sensibility of the citizens awakened to such a degree, and never did they witness so mournful a scene.[1]

In New York City "immediately after his decease, the bells announced that he was no more." They tolled from six until seven the morning of Hamilton's funeral, and again at ten until the funeral procession reached the church, and again that evening. Minute guns were fired from the forts around Manhattan Island, and the ships in the harbor broke out their funeral pennants.

In this age of sensibility men and women were more easily moved than they are today. Alexander Hamilton's funeral procession was a slow march, not only of his family and friends, but of the people of a whole city.

> The procession, consisting of the military, the Cincinnati, the clergy of all denominations, the gentlemen of the bar and students at law, strangers, together with the citizens, was very large. All vied with one another in testifying their sense of the worth of the illustrious man deceased, and the irreparable loss which the country had sustained. . . . Not a smile was visible, and hardly a whisper was to be heard, but tears were seen rolling down the cheeks of the affected multitude.[2]

Editors in every State vied with each other in filling the public cup with mourner's wine. Its qualities of intoxication have long

[1] William Coleman, *A Collection of the Facts and Documents, relative to the Death of Major-General Alexander Hamilton* (1804, Reprinted New York, 1904), 61.

[2] *Ibid.*, 61–62.

since evaporated, but there can be no doubt that at the time it was part of the funeral fare which the public expected. "Eulogium," a writer in the Philadelphia *Register* exclaimed, "sinks languid on the swelling heart; it gives no throb unfelt before, it cites no worth unknown. If the pathetic voice of Cicero were to speak, even from the gloom of the tomb, it could open no new source of regret, it could raise no new emotion of sorrow." The *Federal Ark* of Delaware reflected the general mood and the taste in eulogy: "Our tutelary genius presided at his birth.—Nature was his foster-mother.—Virtue blushed not to call him her son.—Wisdom claimed him as her favourite son.—Patriotism with rapture pressed him to her bosom, and Valour by her side, smiling on her caresses, resolved to complete the man."[3]

Suddenly, above these tear-choked voices which had been calling the nation to an orgy of self-pity a new voice rang out, charging the mourners themselves with being accessories to the murder of Hamilton. On the 29th of July, 1804, eighteen days after the fatal duel on the heights of Weehawken, a spare, black-gowned Presbyterian minister stood in the pulpit of the North Dutch Church in Albany, the capital of New York State, leveled and then prosecuted his charge of the nation's complicity in the murder. Many who had known Hamilton agreed that the great Federalist himself had never been more eloquent or more successful in bringing a criminal to justice than was his friend, the Reverend Eliphalet Nott, in his memorable indictment. Never before had they witnessed such a scene: the church a courtroom, the minister turned prosecutor, and the audience brought to the bar before a judge from whom there was no appeal.

To become a part of this scene and of the drama Eliphalet Nott played out before the Common Council and the citizens of Albany you must recreate a climate of opinion in which men were ignorant of Fermi, Compton, Jeans, Dewey, Freud, and Darwin; you must become one with an age ignorant of death by nuclear fission, a less complex age which believed the atom and

[3] *Ibid.*, 91.

the universe were equally within the boundaries of the kingdom of God.

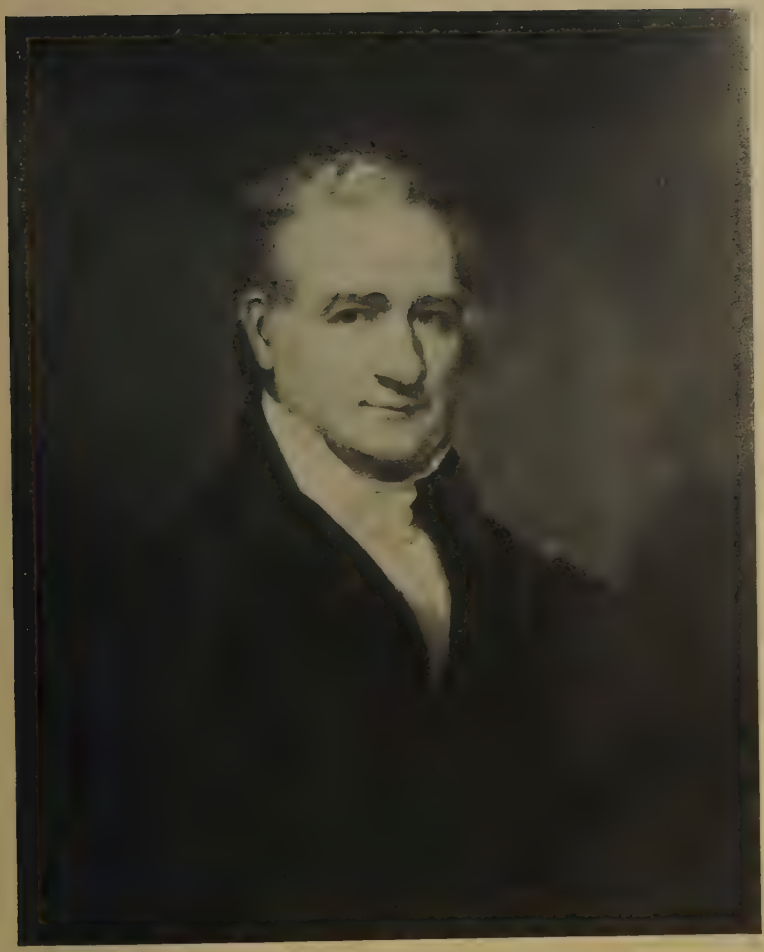
By 1804 the "Second Awakening," that wave of religious revivals which swept across America during the first decades of the 19th century, had penetrated deep into New York State. Hundreds of Protestant pulpits, including Nott's, had become watchtowers from which the occupants scanned the heavens for signs of the second coming of the Son of God, for the first rays of the millennial morning.[4] "Concerts of prayer" were held simultaneously across the country in the hope they would bring to men that "downpouring of the spirit" which Nott reported he had seen cleanse and renew the lives of whole communities.

"The poisonous French doctrines . . . infecting the more cultivated minds" were frightening conservative men during these dangerous years when many believed they were witnessing the last act of the cosmic drama that had begun in Eden and that was now about to close in the thunders of Armageddon, the skirmishes of which were already being fought in Europe. President Timothy Dwight of Yale viewed with increasing alarm the transatlantic westward flow of "atheism, anarchy and communism," and Nott himself had preached before the leaders of New York politics against "that foreign influence which hath converted Europe into one vast Golgotha."[5]

The audience which had come, so they thought, to hear Eliphalet Nott eulogize his murdered friend knew what their religious leaders were opposing to the "degeneracy of the times." Nott was a chiliast, one convinced that within the lifetime of his hearers men would be celebrating what he called "the millennial jubilee." America, so Nott had told an audience on the 25th anniversary of American independence, was to be the scene of the thousand years of peace prophesied in Revelation; here was to be the New Zion, its geography co-extensive with that of the

[4] O. W. Elsbree, *Rise of the Missionary Spirit in America, 1790–1815* (Williamsport, Pa.: 1928), 136.

[5] Eliphalet Nott, *A Discourse delivered . . . the Fourth of July*, 1801 (Albany: 1801), 18.



REV. ELIPHALET NOTT (1773–1866)

Portrait by Ezra Ames, 1820

*Owned by Old South Association, Boston*
*On permanent loan to Union College, Schenectady*

United States. The recent American Revolution testified to God's purpose, these chiliasts were sure; the Constitution, then only 15 years old, was evidence, Nott said, of the Divine Plan; it was that "magnum opus which hath proved our rock of safety" against the forces of the Anti-Christ marshalled in Europe. Washington himself, he stated, "hath been formed to save this western and modern Israel of the Lord."[6]

And so, too, had been Hamilton, until he was cut down by the sinister powers which had infected him and the nation. Hamilton seems to have been the ideal Christian citizen to the younger man, a hero contaminated only by the evils of party politics. Not only was Nott familiar with Hamilton's proposed formation of a "Constitutional Christian Society" based on an educated and so enlightened electorate, but Hamilton, Nott said, had told him that his "opinions concerning the Divine Mission of Jesus Christ, and the validity of the holy scriptures, had long been settled, and settled after laborious investigations and deep research," and that "had his life been spared, it was his determination to have published them to the world."[7]

Hamilton as the defender of the freedom of conscience, according to Nott, was without peer. Nott had sat with the judges —"Hamilton was within arms length of me"—during the latter's famous defense of Harry Croswell, editor of the Hudson (N.Y.) *Wasp*, against charges of libel upon President Jefferson. "It was the most perfect triumph of eloquence over the passions of men I ever witnessed," Nott remembered; "Hamilton allowed to the arguments of his opponents all the weight that could be fairly claimed for them, and then demolished them with the club of Hercules. He would never engage in a course unless he believed he was on the side of justice."[8]

[6] *Ibid.*, 18.

[7] Eliphalet Nott, *A Discourse Delivered in the North Dutch Church, in the City of Albany, occasioned by the ever-to-be lamented Death of Major-General Alexander Hamilton-July, 29, 1804* (Reprinted in E. Nott, *Miscellaneous Works*, Schenectady, 1810), 115.

[8] "Opinions of the Late Dr. Nott Respecting Books, Studies and Orators," Union College *Alumni Monthly* (Supplement), March 1933.

For Eliphalet Nott, standing in the pulpit of the North Dutch Church of Albany, the death of Hamilton at the hands of Aaron Burr, that "Prince of Plausibilities," so Nott called him, was no "customary providence" as had been the death of Washington. First, the son, Philip Hamilton, and now the father, each had gone down on the same spot at the hands of the duellist; these dreadful events, too, were signs of the time. Atheism, anarchy and communism had already made of Europe a vast Golgotha and now the infection was threatening America, "this western and modern Israel of the Lord." The task before Nott was clear: not eulogy again, but the club of Hercules; his, too, must be a triumph of eloquence over the passions of men. Hamilton himself might well have hesitated to put the nation on trial, but Nott believed he had no choice. God had moved him to speak as He had directed the bullet which killed Hamilton.

First, there was the crime:

> Before such an audience, and on such an occasion, I enter on the duty assigned me with trembling. . . .
>
> You will ask, then, why I tremble? I tremble to think that I am called to attack from this place a crime, the very idea of which almost freezes one with horror—a crime too which exists among the polite and polished orders of society, and which is accompanied with every aggravation; committed with cool deliberation—and openly in the face of day![9]

Francis Wayland, later president of Brown University, remembered Nott in the pulpit on other occasions. The power of the man was "in the tones of his voice—tones of emotion, adapted to every range of human feeling."[10]

Hamilton's death, Nott continued, was the result of "mad deliberation . . . marked by violence." Pathos, to which his Albany hearers were ready to respond, must have knelled in Nott's voice as he evoked the scene of the duel:

> The time, the place, the circumstances are arranged with barbarous coolness. The instrument of death is levelled in day light, and with well directed skill pointed at his heart. Alas! the event has proven that it was

[9] E. Nott, *Miscellaneous Works* (Schenectady: 1810), 87.

[10] C. Van Santvoord, *Memoirs of Eliphalet Nott, D.D., LL.D., for sixty-two years President of Union College* (New York: 1876), 235.

too well directed. Wounded, mortally wounded, on the very spot which still smoked with the blood of a favorite son, into the arms of his indiscrete and cruel friend, the father fell.

Hamilton, in exposing his own life, presumptuously set aside God's law, that law of Nature which forbids the taking of life, except under those conditions which the Gospels make explicit. Although Hamilton was willful in assuming the obligations of a barbarous code of honor, "think not," the speaker thundered, "that the issue of the late inhuman interview was fortuitous." God directed Aaron Burr's bullet "as a loud and awful warning to a community where justice has slumbered—and slumbered—and slumbered. . . ."

Nott's faith in the miraculous aspects of Christianity had resolved for him the Calvinist problem of Free Will and Permission; the problem, for him, did not exist: Hamilton freely elected to meet Aaron Burr in the fatal duel, and God, in the interest of social and divine justice, brought about his death. The speaker had seen the evidence of the intervention of God in the affairs of men in the town of Berne, outside of Albany, and in other places marked by the still active revivals of "Second Awakening"; here, with awful force, so he believed, God was intervening again, and in such a way that "the polite and polished orders of society" must now be aware of it.

Hamilton guilty of complicity in murder, and the "auditory" an accessory to the fact! This dramatic reversal of roles which Hamilton and the audience had played all their lives was a masterly piece of casting on the part of the speaker. In this age of sensibility the courtroom and the church were, in many ways, theatres to those who attended them, and the lawyer and the minister who could evoke the theatre's excitement and catharsis were the popular leaders. It took courage on the part of the speaker to put Alexander Hamilton and his mourners on trial, but in such a courtroom, and before such a judge the prosecutor had rather special advantages, and the Reverend Eliphalet Nott capitalized them to the fullest: "I cannot forgive you my breth-

ren, who till this late hour have been silent, whilst successive murders were committed."

Ministers, public prosecutors, judges, governors, the public then received their separate and dramatic indictments. In their tacit support of duelling they were as barbarians to the more cultivated citizen of ancient Greece and Rome. His hearers must be reasoned with as inferiors; they must be told what was obvious to the Greek and the Roman: Duelling is absurd to men of reason.

Irony, which Hamilton had used so effectively in his appeal of the case of Harry Croswell, Nott now turned against the duellists:

> One man of honor by some inadvertance, or perhaps with design, injures the sensibilities of another man of honor. In perfect character the injured gentleman resents it. He challenges the offender. The offender accepts the challenge. The time is fixed. The place is agreed upon. The circumstances, with an air of solemn mania are arranged; and the principals, with their seconds and surgeons, retire under the covert of some solitary hill, or upon the margin of some unfrequented beach; to settle this important question of honor by stabbing or shooting at each other.
>
> One or the other, or both the parties fall in this polite and gentlemanlike contest. And what does this prove? It proves that one or the other or both of them, as the case may be, are marksmen. But it affords no evidence that either of them possess honor, probity, or talents.
>
> It is true that he who falls in single combat, has the honor of being murdered; and he who takes his life, the honor of a murderer.

Although the vitality of this speech is gone, for it lay in "the tones of the voice," as Francis Wayland said, there is ample evidence to judge the speaker's skill in playing upon the sensibilities of his audience. So far he had assumed the roles of prosecutor and instructor exclusively; pathetic at times, ironic, speaking with the authority of one who prosecutes in the name of immutable law, patiently reasonable, he had brought in the awful indictment and explained the nature of the crime. Now, however, as though he, too, were caught up in the emotion of the hour, he became in a moment the stricken friend, searching for words of praise:

O that I possessed the talent of eulogy, and that I might be permitted to indulge the tenderness of friendship in paying the last tribute to his memory. O that I were capable of placing this great man before you. . . . I can only hint at the variety and exuberance of his excellence.

This sudden merging of his mood with that of his hearers was an effective and calculated shift of position, a skillful prelude to the terrifying final scene which he was to open before them.

Eliphalet Nott's "hint" at the variety and exuberance of Hamilton's character was a paean to his virtues as fulsome as the newspapers of the country and Albany Common Council and his audience could have wished. In his eulogy of Hamilton The Statesman, he indicated his own acceptance of Hamilton's political tenets, and his disapproval of his partisan activities:

[Hamilton] . . . the correctness of whose principles and the strength of whose mind, are inscribed on the records of congress and on the annals of the council chamber. Whose genius inscribed itself upon the CONSTITUTION of his country; and whose memory, the government, ILLUSTRIOUS FABRIC, resting on this basis, will perpetuate while it lasts; and shaken by the violence of party, should it fall, which may heaven avert, his prophetic declarations will be found inscribed on its ruins.

As if this evocation of a hardly mortal man were not enough, the speaker again pictured the scene of death, this time in terms which lie outside the range of modern criticism; they represent, however, an orator's triumph to an Albanian of 1804, crêpe about his arm, one of tens of thousands of citizens making a public display of his grief at the unnatural death of a national hero. Granted the climate of opinion at the turn of the century, there can be no question of the speaker's skill in preparing his audience for what was now to follow, the terrible lesson which he, as a Christian minister, must draw from what he had said was a murderer's meeting on the "tragic shores of Hoboken."

Approach, and behold—while I lift from this sepulchre its covering. Ye admirers of his greatness, ye emulous of his talents and his fame, approach and behold him now. How pale! How silent! No martial bands admire the adroitness of his movements. No fascinated throngs weep—and melt—and tremble at his eloquence!—Amazing change. A shrowd! a coffin! a narrow, subterranean cabin! This is all that now remains of *Hamilton!*

Hamilton at least had risen above this time "when skepticism, shallow and superficial, but depraved and malignant, is breathing forth its pestilential vapours, and polluting by its unhallowed touch, everything divine and sacred."

Eliphalet Nott had spoken with passion and eloquence. He ended, not with praises for his dead friend, but with a chiliast's prophecy of the terror to precede the Millennium. The speaker had carefully enlarged his subject until his audience found itself no longer by the bier of Hamilton, accessories to his murder, but "standing on the borders of an AWFUL GULF." Behind them, he said, were now "the ruins of the tomb . . . an emblem of the ruins of the world."

> Anticipate the concluding scene, the final catastrophe of nature. When the sign of the Son of Man shall be seen in heaven . . . the fiery desolation envelops towns, palaces and fortresses. The heavens pass away! The earth melts! and all those magnificent productions of art which ages heaped on ages have reared up, are in one awful day reduced to ashes.

This must have been that moment when, as one of Nott's parishioners remembered, "his eloquence, his very look, drew audience and attention still as night."

> Against the ruins of that day, as well as the ruins of the tomb which precede it, the gospel in the CROSS of its great HIGH PRIEST, offers you all a sanctuary . . . thither fly, ye prisoners of hope! . . . that . . . you may perpetuate the song which lingered on the faltering tongue of HAMILTON, "Grace, Rich Grace."

The "Amen" which closed Eliphalet Nott's charge against a heedless nation ended also one phase of the speaker's life. He left the North Dutch Church a famous man. William Coleman, editor of the New York *Evening Post*, the chief Federalist journal of the day, wrote that Nott's "sermon has deservedly engaged an universal share of public attention . . . in the passage beginning with the apostrophe, 'APPROACH AND BEHOLD' how elegant, how deeply affecting, how sublime he is! Perhaps a passage of equal length is not to be anywhere found in our language superior to this."[11]

[11] William Coleman, *op. cit.*, 108.

How affecting the *Discourse* was is attested to by the immediate response of the publishers. By 1805 at least eight of them had editions before the public. Albany absorbed three printings in 1804 alone, and communities from New York City to Augusta, Maine, were soon reading editions from their own presses.[12]

"In the state of New York, at least," one writer commented, "duelling was extirpated by a single sermon; for every duellist knew that should he be brought to trial, probably half the jury, and certainly the court, would have read Dr. Nott's sermon on the death of Hamilton."[13]

Unfortunately duelling in New York was not extirpated by Nott's *Discourse*. The enthusiastic commentator may have known that the New York Legislature had tried its own method of extirpation in 1803 when it had outlawed duelling, but legislative action on the subject throughout the next three decades indicates that, while Nott's "loud and awful warning" may have shocked many Christians into sober second thoughts on the duellists' challenge to Higher Law, angry men went heedlessly and lawlessly on to what Nott had called "their inhuman interviews."[14]

Did Nott's dramatic indictment of the Nation for complicity in Hamilton's murder affect the course of the "Second Awakening"? There is no question but that the *Discourse* itself was a product of that miracle-hopeful state of mind which characterized the thinking of many devout Christians at the turn of the nineteenth century. Nott had pointed out that Hamilton's death was in truth new evidence, immediate and alarming, of the in-

[12] Nott's *Discourse . . . on the Death of Major-General Alexander Hamilton* had a surprisingly wide distribution and long remained among the set pieces offered as a model to orators young and old. Besides appearing in various collections of oratory down to 1907, it was printed separately in at least a dozen editions: *1804:* Albany, N.Y. (reprinted three times), Salem (N.Y.?), New York City, Hanover, N.H., and Stockbridge, Mass.; *1805:* Greenfield, Mass.; Boston, Mass., and Augusta, Me.; *1806:* Albany, N.Y.; *1810*: Schenectady, N.Y.; *1836*: Amsterdam, Holland (in Dutch); and *1853:* Schenectady, N.Y.

[13] Watson, Elkanah, *Memoirs*, edited by his son, W. C. Watson (New York: 1856), 413.

[14] Laws of New York State: 1803, 1806, 1816, 1824, 1828; Assembly and Senate Journals, 1838.

NORTH PEARL STREET AND THE NORTH DUTCH CHURCH, ALBANY, *c.* 1805
As they appeared when Nott delivered his sermon there on Hamilton
Watercolor sketch by James Eights (1798–1882)
*The Albany Institute of History and Art*

creasing tempo of the battle for the souls of men, an awful warning to those unmindful of cosmic events soon, perhaps, to take place. In a sermon preached from his own pulpit during this period he had asked the question which Hamilton's death had again answered:

> Whence even *now* that shaking so perceptible among the nations? It comes from heaven. It is the moving of the Holy Ghost. . . . whether kingdoms rise or fall, every change accelerates His progress; all events bend unto His purpose. . . . . the way is opening for His triumphant entry. The glad tidings have already reached many, and they will soon have reached every nation. Then will the purpose of grace be consummated, and the millenial jubilee begin.[15]

Here in the *Discourse* were no "glad tidings," but rather here was terrifying evidence of the moving of the Holy Ghost of

[15] E. Nott, *The Resurrection* (New York: 1872), 107.

which the progress of the Second Awakening was such heartening evidence. Duelling was its immediate subject, but Nott had led his hearers from the dark height of Weehawken to a view of a more terrible prospect, that of a world in ruins, a Golgotha from which only those who had been reborn by the moving of the Holy Ghost might escape.

Nott's own First Presbyterian Church, better known as the "Court Church" because of the notables who worshipped there during the legislative sessions, was itself barely touched by the revival spirit, much to its pastor's discomfiture. He who had seen the "downpouring of the spirit" in his home State of Connecticut, who had seen more than three hundred "hopefully converted" in Berne, just west of Albany, and who knew of the vivid revivals then taking place in the western counties of New York could find little evidence that his own people had been stirred by the Awakening.[16]

Many of his fellow ministers were proclaiming the imminence of the Millennium; some declared that Napoleon was the Anti-Christ, that his rise proved "how far we are advanced under the seven vials."[17] Jedidiah Morse was certain that 1866 was the year for the opening of the Millennial Jubilee, and the Reverend John B. Romeyn, speaking from the pulpit of the "Court Church" in 1808, calculated the opening of the Millennium exactly: 50 years after Napoleon's concordat with the Pope the new age would begin.[18]

Nott's hope of awakening Albanians and the nation to their spiritual peril explains the nature of his *Discourse* on the death of Hamilton and explains in part, too, his decision to quit Albany and to leave the pulpit, a decision he made a few weeks following his acceptance of the invitation of the Albany Common Council to memorialize the great Federalist. He had come to the city six years earlier, at President Smith's urging, believing that there he

[16] New York *Missionary Magazines*, 1800, 36–38.
[17] E. O. Elsbree, *op. cit.*, 129–130.
[18] *Ibid.*, 128–129.

could best serve God."[19] His six years' labor had earned for him a distinguished audience; his sermons on the Resurrection crowded his church, but it was in such towns as Berne, and the western towns of Palmyra and Bloomfield, and in Washington County to the east that men and women were calling out "How am I to be saved?" and where they were being answered by a flooding of the Spirit unknown to his city congregation.

By 1804 he had discovered that Albany was beyond his power to move; "parties and factions," and "the friendless poor" surrounded by those "living in affluence and splendour" were symptoms of the times.[20] The *Discourse* was in part an angry, clarion blast at this old and sophisticated community which had long listened to him with pleasure, which had gone to his church for the excitement and catharsis of the theatre, but which was seemingly deaf to the salvation he implored it to seek.

There is, finally, a strange irony in the fact that the duel which killed Alexander Hamilton elevated his friend Eliphalet Nott to national prominence and contributed to a reputation which, in the fall of 1804, opened to him the presidency of Union College. In the quiet Dutch town of Schenectady, he hoped to serve God's purposes more effectively, to prepare young men for life in the New Zion he then believed was imminent. And there is even greater irony in the comment of one of Nott's admirer's who wrote that "his discourse and elegy . . . placed him in the front rank of orators, in the very place where Hamilton himself had stood."[21]

[19] C. Van Santvoord, *op. cit.*, 55.
[20] E. Nott, *Miscellaneous Sermons* (Schenectady: 1810), 62.
[21] G. F. Danforth (address) Union College *Centennial Anniversary* (New York: 1897), 308.

# THE MANUSCRIPT OF A REVOLUTIONARY WAR PLAY FROM LONG ISLAND

*by* R. W. G. Vail, *Director*

AT a period when Massachusetts was so opposed to the theatre that a Boston production of *Hamlet* had to be advertised as "a moral lecture," the State of New York had no such scruples for, on April 6 and again on July 6, 1786, the faculty and students of Clinton Academy at East Hampton, Long Island, produced a play inspired by the Revolutionary War and written by one of the faculty. It was published anonymously the following year and seems to have been the first play on the subject written by a resident of our State.[1]

The first academy chartered by the State of New York was Clinton Academy, named for George Clinton, first Governor of the State. In 1784, within a year after the British troops evacuated New York, the Academy opened its doors and continued as an important college-preparatory school for almost a hundred years. The handsome old building is still piously preserved and is now the home of the local historical society. The founder of the school was Dr. Samuel Buell, pastor of the East Hampton Congregational Church, and he had as part of his small staff two able assistants: Jabez Peck, head of the Classical Department, and William Payne, father of John Howard Payne, author of *Home*,

[1] In 1776, during the British occupation of New York City, the English officers wrote and produced a farce: *The Battle of Brooklyn*. The same year another farce: *The Blockheads; or, the Affrighted Officers*, perhaps by Mrs. Mercy Warren, ridiculed the British; the first native American chronicle play: *The Fall of British Tyranny*, by John Leacock, was performed by an amateur company in Philadelphia; and Hugh Henry Brackenridge, then a teacher at the Maryland Academy, wrote "a dramatic piece," produced the same year by his students, called: *The Battle of Bunkers Hill*. The following year he wrote another: *The Death of General Montgomery*, played by the same company of amateurs. These seem to be the only Revolutionary War plays to have appeared before that produced at the Clinton Academy in 1786. All of them were published at the time. Our Library has the play by Leacock and those by Brackenridge.

CLINTON ACADEMY (ERECTED 1784), EAST HAMPTON, L. I.

From H. P. Hedges, *History of East Hampton* (1897), p. 120

*Sweet Home* and numerous plays, who was the first teacher employed by the school and its Master of English and Writing.[2]

Since the play was not printed until 1787, the actors had to work from a manuscript prompt copy, the original of which was a fortunate addition to our library in 1954. We learn from an inscription of the owner inside the front cover that it belonged to John Lyon Gardiner, one of the student actors. It is written in a quarto copybook of [3], 67 pages, presumably in the autograph of the author since the handwriting differs from that of Gardiner whose notes are on the inside covers.

[2] *East Hampton History*, by Jeanette Edwards Rattray, 1953, p. 83; *A History of the Town of East-Hampton*, by H. P. Hedges, 1897, p. 120.

This prompt copy is of considerable importance since it tells us for the first time the name of the author, gives the cast of characters, the stage directions, and tells us when and where the play was produced, none of which, except part of the stage directions, appears in the printed version. The manuscript title is as follows: Columbia & Brittannia / A Play. / As it is performed at the Hall in / East Hampton Academy. / by / Jabez Peck A M.[3]

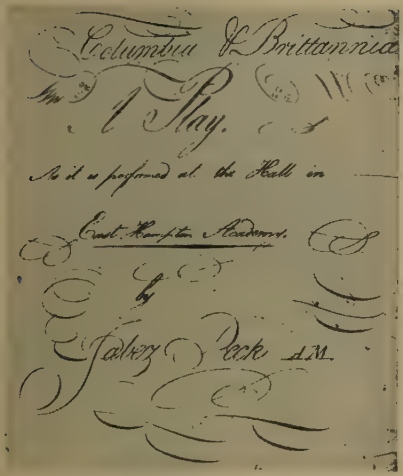
Jabez Peck, the author, was born at Norwich, Connecticut, October 18, 1761, graduated from Yale with the class of 1784 and then joined the faculty of Clinton Academy, later to continue the teaching of Latin and Greek in New York City where he died on October 4, 1791, at the early age of thirty. His name appears in the New York City census of 1790. In that or the following year he married Nancy Rysam who had acted the part of *Britannia* in his play at East Hampton in 1786.[4]

In the Preface, which appears only in the printed version and is signed with the pseudonym *Philophron*, the unnamed author explains his purpose in writing the play:

> Improvement in Elocution, for a select number of students, at a public school, was one principal design of the author, when he began the following piece. . . .
>
> Doubtless those who are professed enemies to the Drama, in whatever garb it may appear, if they pay any attention to this, will wholly condemn it. . . .
>
> The subject is what every person, in the United States, arrived to years of understanding, is well acquainted with; and a subject, in which every one, in the time the transactions referred to took place, thought themselves deeply interested. . . .
>
> Ought we not to esteem most sacredly, that freedom and independence

[3] The printed title reads: *Columbia and Brittannia: A Dramatic Piece. By a Citizen of the United States. New-London. Printed by T. Green. 1787.* 63 p., 8 vo. (7½ x 5 inches). The preface, not in the prompt copy, is signed: *Philophron, March 15, 1787.* Evans 19922, Trumbull 1991, Wegelin's *Early American Plays*, p. 2, Hill's *American Plays* 46. Copies located at Brown University Library, Boston Public Library, (McKee copy), University of Chicago Library, University of Pennsylvania Library and in the Morton Pennypacker Collection at the East Hampton Public Library. Our library has a photographic copy of the T. J. McKee–Boston Public Library copy. The Brown University copy is in its original plain gray wrappers, all edges cut.

[4] F. B. Dexter's *Biographical sketches of the graduates of Yale College*, Vol. IV, 1907, p. 361.


Columbia & Brittannia

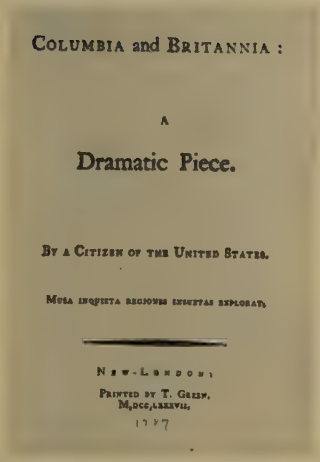
A Play.

As it is performed at the Hall in

East Hampton Academy.

Jabez Pack A.M.

Author's ms. prompt copy, 1786
*The New-York Historical Society*


COLUMBIA and BRITANNIA:

A

Dramatic Piece.

BY A CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES.

MUSA INQUIETA SECIORUM INSIDIAS EXPLORAT.

NEW-LONDON:

PRINTED BY T. GREEN.

M,DCC,LXXXVII.

1787

Copy now at East Hampton in
*Morton Pennypacker Collection*

1786 MANUSCRIPT: "COLUMBIA & BRITTANNIA" TITLE PAGE: PRINTED 1787

secur'd to us by the late important revolution? Ought we ever to forget those arduous, those bloody struggles we endured in that dangerous contest?—a contest in which thousands of our dear friends yielded up their lives on the sanguine plains. And shall we, who are enjoying the blessings for which they fought 'till their last breath, forget to celebrate those transactions?

Ought we not, on the other hand, ever to bear them on our minds, and endeavour to impress on the minds of the rising generation, the inestimable value of the liberties they possess, and the dangerous struggles their predecessors endured to secure to them those invaluable blessings?

These considerations, with that of the improvement of youth in Elocution, first induced the author to choose this subject, and have now induced him to present this little performance to the public. . . .

To conclude . . . the piece, somewhat singular of its kind, . . . is now, with a solicitation of candour, presented to the public, by one who will ever esteem it his duty, and highest happiness to promote the welfare of his country.

The play is written mainly in blank verse in seven acts of fifteen scenes, with the third act ending with ten rhymed couplets. Four popular songs of the day were introduced into the

play as follows: at the end of Act 4, the first two verses of *Bunker Hill;*[2] at the end of Act 5, scene 1, the first verse of *Columbia;* at the end of Act 6, scene 1, the company sang two verses of *The Dauphin of France*, "a little altered"; scene two of the same act ended with the singing of four verses of *The Fall of General Wolfe or Britannia's Lamentation*, altered; and Act seven, scene 1 ended with the singing of another verse of *Columbia*.

Of course, every play of the period had to have a Prologue and from this one we learn that John Howard Payne came rightfully by his talents as a poet and dramatist, for our Prologue was written by his father, William Payne, the Academy's Master of English and Writing. His Prologue, spoken in the first performance by Nathaniel Bunce and in the second by John Lyon Gardiner, but not included in the printed version, is as follows:

> Our very welcome Auditors, no more
> We treat you with such fragments as before,
> A broken Scene from Shakespear or of Cato
> With moral traits from Socrates or Plato.
> We here present you with a new design,
> A modern Muse,—a favorite of the Nine,
> A recent story we hold up to view.
> Such Homer heard not—nor even Shakespear knew.
> A new found World emerging to renown
> Tumbles the pride of ancient monarchs down,
> Casts off the Chains which trembling Mortals bind
> And stamps the natural freedom of mankind.
> Columbia makes her suit,—what Soul can hear
> And still retain the sympathetic tear?
> When proud Britannia scorns her humble prayer
> And shews griev'd Virtue more Divinely fair.
> Disgrac'd, rejected, must she cease to call
> Those Rights her own which heaven design'd for all?
> She nobly scorns to yield her native power,
> And heaven supports her in the darkest hour,
> Inspires her Counsels, aids her chosen bands
> And puts the glorious Laurel in her Hands.
> Rous'd by her injuries fair Gallia smiles

[2] From: *The American Hero: A sapphic ode. By Nath. Niles, A.M.* [Caption title]. 15 verses on two 12mo. pages, dated at end at *Norwich, Connecticut, October 1775*, a copy in our library.

And aids her righteous cause and shares her toils.
In mutual Love and mutual Faith agreed
They fight together and together bleed.
Britannia struck with Sympathetic Pain
Returns the sword and Peace and Freedom reign.

What the Prologue lacked in poetic skill it made up in patriotic fervor and the audience doubtless applauded it to the echo. Then, settling expectantly in their seats, the proud faculty and parents, townspeople and students glanced at their programs to see which part each actor was to play. Since this was a college-preparatory academy in which the teaching of the classic languages was paramount, each historical character also had a classical pseudonym. The names of the historical characters and of the actors were not given in the printed version. This was the *Dramatis Personae* as revealed in our manuscript prompt copy:

MEN

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Fabius | *John C. Brush* | General Washington |
| Arator | *John Lyon Gardiner*[6] | General Lee |
| Iracundus | *David Gardiner*[7] | General Putnam |
| Sophos | *Platt Buffet*[8] | Hancock |
| Perjurus | *Maltby Gelston*[9] | Traitor Arnold |
| Paramont | *Samuel Buell* | Lord North |
| Orontes | *Joseph Pitkin* | British General |
| Scotos | *John C. Hedges*[10] | British Lords |
| Justitius | *Nathaniel Smith* | |
| Ireneus | *Frederic Halsey*[11] | |
| Indignus | *John Brush* | |
| Avarus | *Joseph Woodruff* | |

[6] John Lyon Gardiner (1770–1816), Seventh Proprietor of Gardiner's Island, graduated at Nassau Hall (Princeton) with an A.M. in 1789. He was a scholar and naturalist, could read and speak the language of the Montauk Indians of Long Island. (J. E. Rattray's *East Hampton*, p. 343.)

[7] David Gardiner (1772–1815), brother of the above, graduated with an A.M. from Princeton with his brother and with our fourth President, Dr. David Hosack, in 1789. (J. E. Rattray's *East Hampton*, p. 343.)

[8] Platt Buffet (bapt. 1765 1850), Yale class of 1791, became a Congregational minister and preached at Greenwich, Connecticut, from 1796 until his retirement in 1835. (Dexter's *Yale Graduates*, V:703.)

[9] Maltby Gelston (1766–1856), Yale class of 1791. Before getting his degree he was a teacher at Clinton Academy. Ordained as a Congregational minister in 1794 and preached, mainly at Sherman, Connecticut, until 1842. Probably because he was

WOMEN

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Columbia | *Polly Chapman* | America |
| Britannia | *Nancy Rysam*[12] | Britain |
| Gallia | *Polly Hedges*[10] | France |

Servants and Attendants, &c, &c.

In the second performance there were four changes in the cast:

| | |
|---|---|
| Prologue | *John Lyon Gardiner*[6] |
| Indignus | *Nathaniel Woodbridge* |
| Justitius | *Maltby Gelston*[9] |
| Gallia | *Fanny Rysam*[12] |

Now everyone is expectant and the curtains are parted for Act I which shows Columbia and Britannia in a friendly dialogue, but in Act II we see Britannia and the English Court making plans for the enslavement of America so, in Act III, Britannia and Columbia quarrel. At the opening of the curtains for the first scene of Act IV, we discover Columbia in an unhappy monologue; Scene 2 relieves our minds, for Lee, Putnam, Arnold and Hancock decide to defend Columbia; and in Scene 3 Washington tells Columbia that he will stand by her.

The first scene of Act V opens with Columbia, Lee and Hancock talking over the situation. Hancock advocates a declaration of independence, to which the others agree and so independence is declared forthwith. In scene 2 Washington, Putnam and Lee rally to the defense of their country; but in Scene 3 Arnold plots with a British general for the surrender of West Point to the

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the junior member of the school's faculty and because no one else wanted to play the part, he appeared in the play as Traitor Arnold. (Dexter's *Yale Graduates*, V:708.)

[10] John Chatfield Hedges (1770–1798), a local East Hampton boy who did not live to make a name for himself. (J. E. Rattray's *East Hampton*, p. 375.) Polly Hedges, who played Gallia, was probably his sister.

[11] Frederick Halsey (1761–1838). A Southampton boy who, while he was studying divinity under Dr. Buell, President of Clinton Academy, was a teacher in the school. He graduated from Columbia College in 1790 and was a Congregational minister at Plattsburgh, New York. (J. L. and E. D. Halsey's *Thomas Halsey Genealogy*, 1895, p. 79.)

[12] Nancy Rysam. The author's sweetheart and future wife and probably the sister of Fanny Rysam who played Gallia in the second performance. (Dexter's *Yale Graduates*, V:361.)

British. (At this point the Academy students no doubt hiss loudly and are frowned down by the faculty.) In Scene 4 Washington, Lee and Putnam disclose Arnold's treason to the incredulous nation.

Act VI, Scene 1 shows Columbia and Gallia arranging an alliance; in Scene 2 Britannia and two British lords are conversing. She mourns the loss of her colonies and regrets her action in making war on them. The lords urge her to make peace and she agrees. In Scene 3 Lord North and three other lords appear. The Traitor, Arnold, attempts to join them but is given the cold shoulder and they decide to make peace with America.

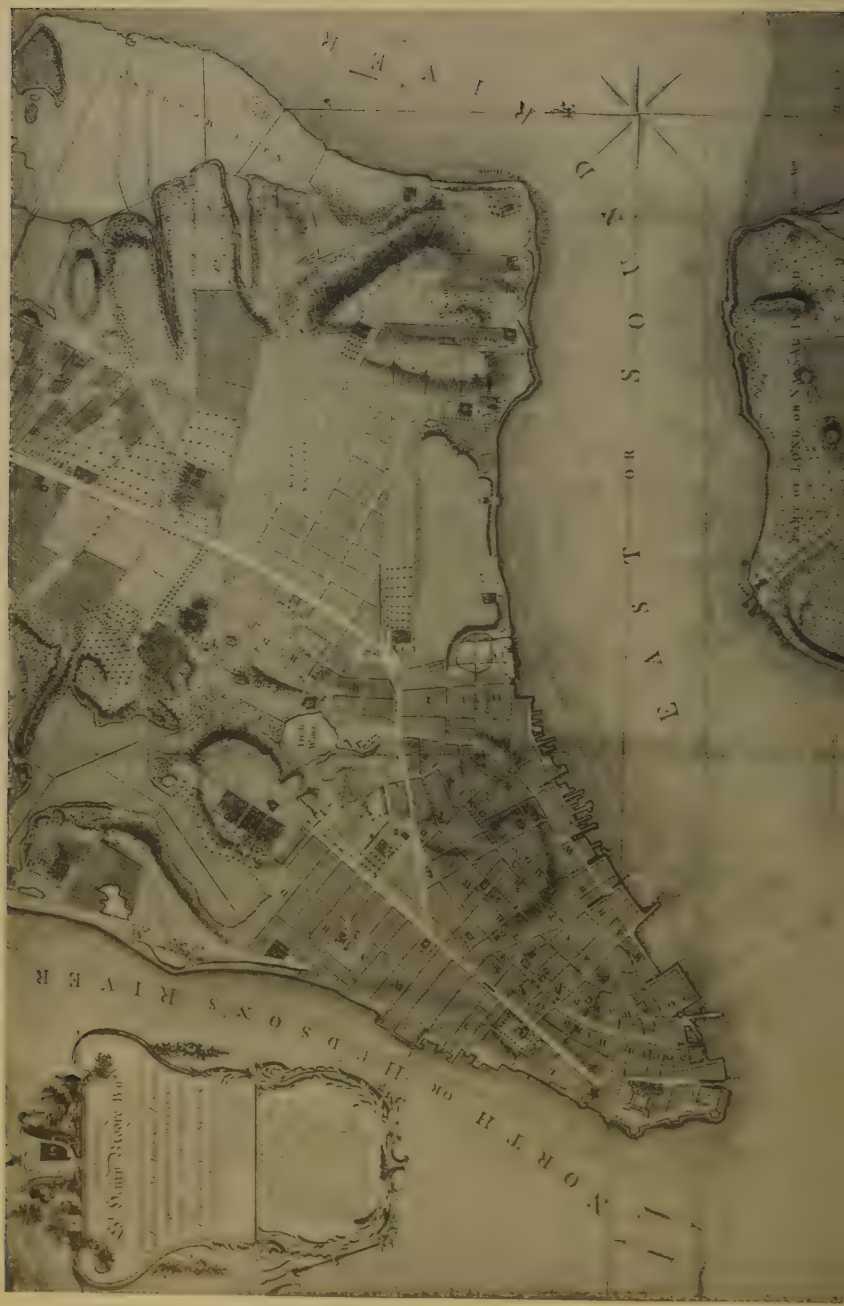
In Act VII, Scene 1 (called Scene IV in the printed version) Washington, Lee and Putnam exult over the American victories and in the grand finale of Scene 2 Columbia, Gallia and Britannia, in the centre of the stage, join hands in the presence of Washington, Lee and Putnam, the British lords and Traitor Arnold (how did he get in there?). Everybody rejoices over the happy outcome of the war and expresses gratitude to Gallia, while Britannia voices this pious hope, which we can echo in our day:

> Let hate no more, nor baleful discord's jar
> Again provoke the horrid din of war.

And so the play ends, with a final stage direction: *Make your obeisance.*

After numerous curtain calls and many bows, the curtains are closed amid great applause and New York State's first native Revolutionary War play is over.

Perhaps you think that this amateur play was of no great importance but do not forget that the fathers in the audience had only recently been Revolutionary soldiers and had helped win their country's freedom. They had served under the nation's heroes which their sons had just impersonated on the stage and they themselves had enacted the stirring events which the play depicted. This play meant much to them and it should mean much to us, their lineal and spiritual descendants.




THE "RATZEN" PLAN OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK, 1767

"The most accurate plan of the period"—I. N. Phelps Stokes

# JOHN LOUDON McADAM IN REVOLUTIONARY NEW YORK

*by* Robert H. Spiro, Jr.

*Professor of History, Mississippi College, Clinton, Miss.*

THE NAME of John Loudon McAdam has captured public imagination and become a part of the language in a manner equalled by few important personages. Known as the "Colossus of Roads," the colorful McAdam was Britain's premier turnpike administrator and engineer between 1818 and his death in 1836. The *Oxford English Dictionary* cites no less than seven derivatives of his name,[1] and George Macaulay Trevelyan writes in laudatory terms that

> 'Macadamising' was not only, in its literal sense, a practical work of great public utility; it became the symbol of all progress, and was metaphorically used in common parlance for any aspects of the new age where improved and uniform scientific methods were in demand.[2]

Yet most careful analysts, such as Jackman,[3] the Webbs,[4] and Gregory,[5] and the standard reference works including the *Dictionary of National Biography*, the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, and the encyclopedias *Americana* and *Britannica*, are vague and often in error when describing the life and work of McAdam. Furthermore, the sole effort at a biography of the man

[1] All but one, "macadamizing," were in vogue during the lifetime of the famous roadbuilder, and most derivatives originated in the mid-eighteen twenties. Sir J.A.H. Murray's copious notes included fifty-five direct quotations from nineteenth-century literature to show how the name captivated the popular imagination and was utilized as a fresh, picturesque fashion. Included among the authors cited are Marryat, Hood, Southey, Thackeray, Moore, Lytton, and Holmes. The earliest form noted by Murray is the common noun "macadamite"—"one who practices or advocates McAdam's system of roadmaking."

[2] George M. Trevelyan, *British History in the Nineteenth Century and After (1782–1919)*, 2nd. ed. (London, 1937), p. 166.

[3] William T. Jackman, *The Development of Transportation in Modern England* (Cambridge University Press, 1916), I.

[4] Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *English Local Government: The Story of the King's Highway* (London, 1920).

[5] J. W. Gregory, *The Story of the Road from the Beginning down to A. D. 1931* (London, 1931).

is a centennial volume written by a fond descendant and based almost entirely on inadequate secondary sources. This study neglects many significant aspects of his career, and literally hundreds of errors of simple fact are evident in its 155 pages of original text.[6] A satisfactory biography of McAdam has yet to be published.

Perhaps least known about the celebrated McAdam is that he lived for thirteen years in New York (1770–1783), and that although quite young, he was a successful Loyalist merchant, active until he fled the city in May 1783. His career in New York illustrates an aspect of merchant life in the British-occupied metropolis not treated adequately in the excellent studies by A. M. Schlesinger, Sr., Claude H. Van Tyne, and Alexander C. Flick.

John Loudon McAdam was born in 1756 in Ayr, a county seat in southwest Scotland, a year earlier than the poet Robert Burns, who was born in the same town and baptized by the same minister, The Reverend John Dalrymple. McAdam was the second son and tenth child of James McAdam of Waterhead, a rather obscure "baron" or "laird." His mother was Susannah Cochrane, first cousin-german of Thomas Cochrane, the 8th Earl of Dundonald. In 1770 his father died at his comfortable castle of Whitefoord, in Straiton Parish, Ayrshire, leaving his widow with the responsibility of rearing seven unmarried daughters and a fourteen-year-old son.[7]

It was soon decided to send young Loudon to live with his uncle, William McAdam, who in 1760 had emigrated to New York. Thus, during the winter of 1770–1771, young Loudon McAdam sailed to the New World to join a prosperous uncle and to seek his fortune.

When McAdam arrived in New York City, the thirteen con-

[6] Roy Devereux [pseudonym for Mrs. Roy Pember-Devereux], *John Loudon McAdam—Chapters in the History of Highways* (London, 1936). An American edition was published the same year, identical except for the title, which was *The Colossus of Roads: A Life of John Loudon McAdam* (New York, 1936).

[7] James McAdam left his family in comfortable circumstances, but by 1779 John McAdam of Craigengillan, immortalized by Burns, had acquired Waterhead.

NEW YORK (FROM HUDSON'S RIVER) AS IT LOOKED WHEN MCADAM ARRIVED IN 1770

From the *Atlantic Neptune*, prepared and published by the British Admiralty, 1763–1784

tinental colonies had already joined the struggle with the Mother Country over the right to govern their domestic affairs. He doubtless viewed the fifth Liberty Pole, only recently (6 February 1770) erected on Isaac Sears' lot near the Common. Certainly he was intrigued by the sight of the impressive equestrian statue of George III, located in the Bowling Green, and the heroic white marble statue of Pitt situated on Wall Street. Perhaps the "Boston Massacre," still a topic for animated conversation, was explained to him by his uncle. He had entered the New World on the threshold of one of its most dramatic and momentous decades, and he and his uncle were destined to play an interesting role in the drama that lay just ahead.

William McAdam had in ten years' residence in New York found material success and a large measure of good will. He had married a Dutch-American, Ann Dey, but she had borne him no children. Perhaps this explains his readiness to receive his young nephew. He was one of twenty merchants who in 1768 founded the New York Chamber of Commerce. He is mentioned twelve times in the minute book of that organization, serving in

1774 as its treasurer and in 1775 as vice-president.[8] As a leading member of the Chamber, William McAdam's contacts were with men of his own class, men of wealth and aristocratic tendencies, men who in 1776 drew back from separation from Great Britain. Alexander C. Flick has put it succinctly:

> The New York Chamber of Commerce was very zealous in cooperating with the British army and navy from 1776 to 1783. General Howe relied on it to rule the city. In its votes of thanks to British officers it always spoke of the Americans as 'rebels,' and the war as an 'unnatural rebellion.'[9]

William McAdam's business establishment in 1766 was located on Smith Street near the New Dutch Church, where he advertised for sale "Iron-bound Butts and Puncheons, genuine Batavia Arrack in bottles, Frontinjack, Priniack, and Madiera, etc.," and in 1775 he was trading from a location on Beaver Street.[10] The Minutes of the Common Council of the City of New York contain frequent references to him. He and Archibald Kennedy in 1765 petitioned "for Grants of Water Lotts." The next year these two, together with Cornelius Van Voorst, petitioned "for an Exclusive Grant of the Right of Ferriage from this City Across Hudsons River to their Respective Lands on Jersey Shore." To consider this second petition the Council unanimously appointed a committee, consisting of Alderman Nicholas Roosevelt and others, to confer with the petitioners and report. Reference is made in a minute of 6 September 1769 to "McAdam's Dock" in the North River near Barclay's Street. In 1771 he and other merchants petitioned the Common Council of the City, complaining that while they had been granted exclusive permission to erect a market on Corporation ground, and had invested £500 in a structure, it now appeared that a group of

[8] Colonial Records of the New York Chamber of Commerce, 1768–1784 (MS. in the New York Public Library).

[9] Alexander C. Flick, *Loyalism in New York During the Revolution* (New York, 1901), pp. 99–100.

[10] John A. Stevens, *Colonial New York Sketches, Biographical and Historical, 1768–1784* (New York, 1867), p. 148.

competitors had also been given the same right: they requested that their monopoly be restored.[11]

The DePeyster Papers and the Warren Papers, both held in the Library of The New-York Historical Society, contain frequent references to McAdam's extensive business connections. The Letter Book of Captain Alexander McDonald of the Royal Highland Emigrants, 1775–1779, contains copies of ten letters addressed to William McAdam from Halifax and Fort Edward, Nova Scotia, which suggest that the elder McAdam was friend and financial agent of numerous royal soldiers.[12] Again, the Abstract of Wills on file in the Surrogate's Office, City of New York, show William McAdam serving as executor and beneficiary of £20 for mourning for Dr. Archibald McLean of Jamaica[13]; executor for Jean Ross, New York spinster[14]; and witness to the will of "Thomas Clarke, aged Gentleman."[15]

William McAdam was also a leading member of the Saint Andrew's Society. Founded as the "Scots' Society" in New York in 1744, the name was changed in 1756 to the Saint Andrew's Society, organized "for the purpose of caring for and relieving their distressed fellow countrymen."[16] Of course, the Society quickly developed strong social tendencies and became a tightly knit, exclusive group. William McAdam became a member probably in 1761, and successively served as manager (1765–1766), vice president (1766–1770, 1771–1772, 1774–1775), and the eleventh president (1772–1773).[17] At the quarterly meetings of the Society he met regularly with such prominent New Yorkers as Lieutenant-Governor Cadwallader Colden, Lieutenant-Colonel James Abercromby, Major-General Wil-

[11] New York Common Council Proceedings, VII, p. 326, 24 October 1771 (MS. in Library of New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, New York City).

[12] *Collections of the New-York Historical Society for 1882* (New York, 1883), *passim.*

[13] *Ibid., 1899* (New York, 1900), pp. 30–31.

[14] *Ibid.*, pp. 10–11.

[15] *Ibid.*, p. 36.

[16] William M. MacBean (ed.), *Biographical Register of Saint Andrew's Society of the State of New York*, I, 1756–1806 (New York, 1922), Foreword.

[17] *Ibid.*, Sketch 137, p. 81

liam Alexander, Major-General Sir Archibald Campbell, Governor William Livingston, and Philip L. and R. R. Livingston.

Like most moderate Tories of his class in New York, William McAdam resented royal and parliamentary "innovations" and intrusions, and was active in seeking redress of grievances. The *New York Journal* of 23 July 1770 notes he signed the non-importation agreement; but in January 1772 he was importing from Ayr in the brig *Hero* plush carpeting, yarns, stockings, Kilmarnock caps, leather breeches, shoes, and channal pumps.[18] On 16 May 1774 he met with a group of merchants and others at the Exchange, and was "nominated . . . [with fifty others] to form a Committee to correspond with our sister Colonies upon all matters of moment. . . ."[19] He was present at nine of the twenty-seven meetings of the Committee, including the next to final session (15 November 1774) when it was agreed to disband upon the election of a Committee to effectuate the Association. McAdam was not chosen to serve on the new Committee of 60. On every division of the Committee he sided with the ultra-conservatives (*e.g.*, William Bayard, Charles Shaw, Charles Nicholls, and John DeLancey) and against Alexander McDougall, Isaac Sears, and the other radicals. The brief minutes recorded in the *American Archives* make no mention of active leadership on the part of William McAdam.[20]

With the termination of his service on the Committee of 51 (22 November 1774), William McAdam found the inexorable drift towards violence and rebellion little to his liking. The First Continental Congress, a fairly moderate body, was passing immoderate resolutions; and the conservative Committee of 51, boycotted by eleven radicals, was much more aggressive than its predecessors, gradually usurping powers traditionally enjoyed by the Assembly, which held no more sessions after 3 April 1775. Then came the dramatic sequence in 1775 which drove William

[18] William M. MacBean's MS. Notes, New-York Historical Society. William McAdam was at the time located on Smith Street in New York.

[19] Peter Force (comp.), *American Archives*, 4th Series, I (Washington, 1837), p. 293.

[20] *Ibid., passim.*

McAdam to make the fateful decision for King and Parliament: Lexington and Concord (19 April), the formation of a "military association" in New York (1 May), Ticonderoga and the convening of the Second Continental Congress (10 May), Crown Point (12 May), the convening of the First Provincial Congress in New York City (22 May), the appointment of Washington to head the Continental Army (15 June), Bunker Hill (17 June), the passing of the Militia Bill (22 August), and the Continental Congress' order to arrest all dangerous Loyalists.

William McAdam was not alone in his desperate agony of soul. With the deterioration of the situation in New York City in the fall of 1775, thousands of citizens, fearful of British bombardment, fled upcolony or across the North River into Jersey. Other thousands sought protection aboard British vessels or within the British lines. On 19 October, despairing of his personal safety, even the Governor, the faint-hearted William Tryon, retreated with his aides and state papers aboard the *Duchess of Gordon* in the harbor.

In the meantime, John Loudon McAdam had been witness to many of these stirring events. Unfortunately, nothing has survived to indicate his personal relationship with his uncle at this critical juncture. In view of his extreme youth on arriving in New York (in 1770 he was only 14 years of age), it would seem reasonable to conclude that he looked upon his uncle as a father, while the uncle generously acted the part. Certainly Loudon early imbibed his uncle's political proclivities, and his financial success while still a young man again suggests the influence and aid of the benevolent uncle and mentor.

When independence was declared in 1776, John Loudon McAdam was not quite twenty years of age. The six years immediately preceding, highly impressionable years of adolescence, had been spent in the home of his wealthy and conservative uncle, who had finally declared for King and against Revolution. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the younger McAdam in New York espoused the King's cause. Persistent tradition indicates he joined a military unit formed by Oliver DeLancey, a

member of a leading family and a wealthy, ardent Loyalist. DeLancey had been commissioned a brigadier-general and colonel of the first battalion on Long Island. Widely known as DeLancey's Brigade, this unit was quite vigorous in conducting sudden forays upon unsuspecting rebel strongholds. All that is known with certainty, however, concerning young Loudon McAdam's military service, derives from one letter he penned on 12 August 1776. He was "with Lord Drummond in his vessell," the brig *Charming Polly*, which was "before New York." He had been forced out of New York late in 1775 or early in 1776, and wrote that he had recently been in Martinique, Antigua, Bermuda, and Dominica. He added, "I shall move about with the Fleet, unless New York is taken, which I hope will be soon. . . . There will be much bloodshed before that happens as the Americans are very strongly entrenched."[21] The tone of this rather lengthy letter clearly portrays the young Loudon McAdam as a zealous Tory who did not even consider himself to be an American.

McAdam was not compelled to remain at sea for more than five weeks, for the Patriots were not so strongly fortified as he thought. After a brief but desperate campaign, the King's forces reëntered the city, and were not dislodged again during the entire Revolution. McAdam must have returned with the troops, if indeed he was serving with them, or perhaps he landed somewhat later with the civilian refugees who were returning to their homes. His uncle may have likewise returned to the city from "the back part of New Jersey," where, wrote his nephew in the same letter from *Charming Polly*, "I am told [he] has retired." When William McAdam did make his way back to New York, however, his spacious mansion located "near the old glass house" was certainly in no condition for immediate occupancy, for with several other fine houses belonging to such errant notables as Oliver DeLancey and William Bayard, it had been appropriated

[21] McAdam to an unknown correspondent in Scotland, perhaps a sister. This letter is in the possession of Mrs. Katherine L. Scott, Hest Bank Lodge, Hest Bank, Lancashire, England.

by General Washington for use as a hospital just prior to the evacuation by the Patriots.[22]

It was in New York, therefore, "The Tory Haven" of the American Revolution, that McAdam spent his remaining years in America. It is doubtful that he served in a provincial brigade after his return in 1776, although numerous Loyalists enlisted. DeLancey's Brigade mustered 226, the Queen's American Rangers and Hussars 480, the New Jersey Volunteers 810, the Loyal American Regiment 271, and others bringing the total to 3,147, all in New York in March 1779.[23] These forces were organized by General Howe and Clinton to supply much-needed manpower, and although there were 50,000 Tories armed by the Ministry during the Revolution, and New York furnished about one-half the total, their services were generally limited to defending occupied ports and harassing frontier areas.[24]

Although New York in September 1776 contained only about three thousand persons, many aged and ill, it was soon filled to overflowing. Tories from the Highlands of "upstate New York" and from other colonies flocked to the city. It was indeed a Tory Haven, this headquarters of His Majesty's Armed Forces, where persecuted and dispossessed Loyalists from Williamsburg, Augusta, and Boston found refuge and food and friends.

Many (but by no means all) Loyalists, like William and John Loudon McAdam, had been born in Great Britain and were generally more loyal to the Crown than were those whose ties with the Mother Country were more remote. They were a cross-section of American society: colonial politicians, royal officials, large landed proprietors and their tenants, professional classes, conservative farmers, wealthy commercial classes and all sorts of

[22] William McAdam's house was doubtless located on his 30-acre Glass-House Farm. See I. N. P. Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan Island*, VI, (New York, 1915), pp. 130–131; also, Rita S. Gottesman (comp.), *The Arts and Crafts in New York, 1726–1776* (New York, 1938), pp. 92–93.

[23] Thomas J. Wertenbaker, *Father Knickerbocker Rebels* (New York, 1948), p. 224.

[24] Claude H. Van Tyne, *The Loyalists in the American Revolution* (New York, 1902), pp. 182–183.

common people.[25] Badly treated during the occupation of the city by the revolutionary forces in 1776, they welcomed the return of the redcoats. British civil authorities generally treated them well, but the military frequently handled them shamefully, sometimes insulting them and robbing them. The military called the Whigs "rebels," but sneeringly referred to the Loyalists as "damned traitors and scoundrels."[26] And New York City, in September 1776 "a most dirty, desolate and wretched place,"[27] was their Mecca.

It appears that John Loudon McAdam had no sooner landed in New York than he commenced business activities. Yet fortunately for him he could have had little to lose when a great fire enveloped the city on 21 September 1776, his twentieth birthday. This conflagration destroyed 493 houses and left a path of desolation a mile long through the heart of the city. Very shortly thereafter, however, he was actively engaged in business negotiations. Devereux states that he was appointed "Commissioner of Naval Prizes,"[28] and this was possibly the case, although there is available no substantiating evidence. This much is certain, supported by ample evidence: young McAdam as a merchant and prizemaster did operate on the New York waterfront from 1777 until 1783, and was vigorous, imaginative, and successful.

There were two business concerns in New York City during the Revolution bearing the family name McAdam. Frequent references are made to them in surviving manuscript collections of merchants of the era and in New York newspapers.

The earlier company was John McAdam and Company, which flourished from late 1776 or more probably early 1777 until the end of 1780. Early references in Rivington's *Royal Gazette* locate the company's office on Hanover Square, possibly on the site now occupied by the Grace Lines Building. It was described as "on the Bridge" (3 October 1778) and advertisements in 1779

[25] Alexander C. Flick, "United Empire Loyalists," *Proceedings of The New York Historical Association*, XXIII, p. 218.
[26] Flick, *Loyalism in New York*, pp. 184–185.
[27] Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, pp. 98–108.
[28] *Op. cit.*, p. 40. Devereux locates him on New Dock, *op. cit.*, p. 33.

WALL AND WATER STREETS: LOCALE OF MCADAM'S VENDUE-OFFICE

Painting by Francis Guy, *c.* 1798

*Owned by The New-York Historical Society*

[Although this picture, painted 15 years after McAdam left New York, reveals important intervening changes, it also shows much that McAdam would have recognized. The Tontine Coffee House (lefthand building with flag) on the northwest corner of the intersection is new and Wall Street extends two blocks further eastward than it did in McAdam's day, thus obliterating much of the slip which formerly indented the shore almost to Water Street. The old Coffee House Bridge, which McAdam's office windows overlooked as it spanned the slip a half block east of Water Street, is gone. But the Merchants Coffee House at the southeast corner of Wall and Water, where McAdam often held his auctions, appears at the extreme right of the picture, and across the street a few doors eastward toward the river stands 22 Wall Street, McAdam's wartime vendue-office.]

and later call attention to "their licensed Auction Room, No. 22, facing the Coffee-House-Bridge" (*e.g.*, on 10 February 1779). On 3 February 1779 an advertisement clearly identifies the office at "No. 22, Wall-Street," nearly opposite the Merchants Coffee House located on the corner of Wall and Water Streets.

The second company was McAdam, Watson and Company, which apparently supplanted John McAdam and company at the end of 1780. Its office or "auction room" was likewise at 22 Wall Street.

The business of these two companies was identical. They served as "vendue masters," agents for the sale of ships and merchandise, chiefly the prizes of war captured by naval and other marine units of the royal government. Nothing is known about the relationship between William McAdam and these companies, nor are there surviving records to indicate the legal structure of the companies. William McAdam was by this time sickly, and doubtless lacked the vigor to supervise the activities of his youthful protégé. He died in 1779.[29] Even "Watson" of the second company is unidentified, although several Watsons in Revolutionary New York have been located.

It has been noted that Revolutionary New York was a beehive of Tory activity. Following the disastrous fire of September 1776 and the recapture of the city by the King's forces, the razed areas were quickly restored and the city began a wartime boom which continued throughout the war. The lonely 3,000 residents who welcomed the returning British in September 1776 increased to 11,000 within five months.[30] John McAdam and Company, and McAdam, Watson and Company, while among the largest and busiest of the vendue masters, were by no means the only agents on the waterfront. A careful study of the leading city newspapers reveals that there were literally dozens of aggressive companies, usually partnerships. The following are representative: Duncan Barclay and Co., 516 Hanover Square (later 12, then 24 Hanover Square); James Inglis, 33 Water Street (later 36 Water Street); Thos. Shaw and Co., 27 Hanover Square; Asby & Hutchins, 35 Hanover Square; Templeton & Stewart, 37 Wall Street; Adam Stewart, 1 Mill-Street; Nathaniel Child, 190 Water Street; Henry Guest & Co., 30 Wall Street; Bowman & Codnor, 18 Hanover Square; Hughes, Carey & Co., 34 Wall Street; Thos. Lawton, 26 Water Street; John Tench & Co., 189 Water Street; Thos. Simpson, 36 Wall Street; and Taylor and Bayard, at the corner of Wall and Queen Streets,

[29] *The Royal Gazette* of 2 October 1779 stated simply: "Yesterday died very sincerely regretted William M'Adam, Esq. a native of North Britain, and many years a merchant in this city."

[30] Wertenbaker, *loc. cit.*

opposite Rivington's.[31] These enterprising merchants swarmed over the numerous wharves and quays, almost solidly ranked along East or Sound River from the Battery to the shipyards (approximately the site of the present Brooklyn Bridge).[32] Six days each week, perhaps seven, public auctions were held on the docks and "at the Merchants Coffee House" and "on the Bridge." Frequently half or even more of the weekly or semi-weekly newspaper was devoted to advertisements giving time and place of the sale, together with a general description of ships and/or goods to be offered.

A very careful survey of Rivington's *Royal Gazette*[33] from October 1777 until December 1783 reveals the vigor of the two companies bearing the name McAdam. Beginning with a few advertisements in 1777 and 1778, there were 66 in 1779, 92 in 1780, 100 in 1781, 101 in 1782, and 81 in 1783. This paper, a weekly until May 1778, was published semi-weekly thereafter. Thus it is readily apparent that from 1779 until Washington reëntered the city in late 1783, McAdam was advertising in almost every issue of this paper.[34] A spot check of Gaine's *New-York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, and of Lewis's *New-York Mercury*, reveals a similar vigorous advertising policy.

Rivington's paper consists of four pages, 19 by 12½ inches, with an occasional supplement. On each page are four columns of print, each 17 inches in length. In 1781, when McAdam advertised in all but two issues of the paper, he bought a total of 275 inches of space, averaging 2.75 inches per insertion. Rivington charged $1 for "up to 15 lines" of advertising space. It can thus be estimated that in 1781 McAdam, Watson and Company

[31] It should be noted that at this time Water Street, for much of its course, ran along the waterfront.

[32] Some of these wharves were Brather's, Murray's, Bache's, Brownejohn's, Van Dam's, Wallace's, and Marston's. Among the "slips" were Beekman's, New Peck's, and Burling's.

[33] James Rivington had suspended publication of his paper on 23 November 1775, and resumed publication in October 1777 as the *New-York Loyal Gazette*. With the issue of 13 December 1777 he called it *The Royal Gazette*, and on 22 November 1783 he deemed it discreet to dispense with the inappropriate adjective "Royal."

[34] Files of this paper were consulted at the following locations: The New-York Historical Society, the New York Public Library, and the Library of Congress.

paid for space in this one paper the sum of $140. It is interesting to note, too, that McAdam's companies were located in close proximity to the offices of the fiery and bitter Tory, Rivington, who cited his address as "on Wall-Street, next door to No. 20." McAdam, it will be remembered, was located at 22 Wall Street. William Lewis, editor of the *New-York Mercury*, was at 19 Wall Street, while Hugh Gaine of the *New-York Gazette and Weekly Mercury* had "his Book-Store and Printing-Office, at the Bible and Crown, in Hanover-Square," where McAdam also had a location. One can only speculate as to the relationship that existed between the youthful Tory merchant and his Loyalist neighbor-editors, for no personal manuscripts are available to document their personal contacts.

McAdam's two companies were among the few which endured throughout the Revolutionary era. Almost weekly some were born, others died. Sales were usually held at 11 or 12 o'clock, "at" or "near the Bridge," or "at" or "near the Merchants Coffee House." Frequently, however, it was announced that inventories of merchandise could be viewed at the vendue masters' offices, but that the sale would be held at a designated wharf or slip. Typical of John McAdam & Co.'s early advertisements is the following, which appeared in the *Royal Gazette* on 22 November 1777:

PUBLIC AUCTION

This Morning at 11 o'clock, on Brownejohn's Wharf, will be continued, the sale of the brig Gen. Gadsen's cargo, consisting of rice, tobacco, and indigo. On Wednesday the 26th inst., at one o'clock, at the Merchants' Coffee-House, the brig General Gadsden.

Inventory to be seen at John M'Adam and Co's Vendue-Office.

In the same newspaper on 6 January 1779 there appeared this advertisement:

PUBLIC AUCTION

This Morning, XI o'clock, at the Bridge,
will be Sold
by John M'Adam and Co.

A quantity of running rigging, a suit sails for a brig 144 tons, a suit ditto

for a schooner, 3 cables, 2 anchors, 5 carriage guns, a quantity of powder and shot, 3, 4, and 6 pound wt.

ONE O'CLOCK, at the Coffee-House,

The brig Flora, with all her materials, lying at Bache's wharf, brig Jenny, now lying at Cruger's dock, schooner Scorpion, lying at Murray's Wharf, and, the Schooner Sally, a strong well built vessel, with all her appurtenances as she now lies at the east side of Pecks Slip. Inventories to be seen at JOHN M'ADAM and Co's Office.

Most frequently McAdam's advertisements were the largest, and the general impression obtained is that he was easily one of the most vigorous and successful operatives on the waterfront. A careful count of ships which he offered at auction between October 1777 and November 1783, and which he advertised in Rivington's *Royal Gazette*, reveals the amazing total of 452. These included schooners, brigs, and sloops—even the schooner *Lady Washington*, "a beautiful Virginia-built vessel" (advertised 3 July 1779), and ultimately at Murray's Wharf the "Rebel Private Ship General Washington" (advertised 23 June 1781).

Occasionally McAdam advertised for sale various "shares" in privateers. On 14 July 1779, for example, he offered one-sixth interest in the "fast-sailing private ship of war TARTAR (formerly the successful ship Westmoreland) mounts 20 six pounders, and six 4 pounders, with cohorns, swivels, small-arms, and every necessary warlike store, has provisions (according to calculation) for six months, sailed on a cruise the 6th instant with upwards of 100 men, under the command of Capt. Dugan."

By no means did all McAdam's business affairs relate to captured rebel ships and cargoes. On Friday, 16 March 1781, he advertised in the *New-York Mercury:*

Public Auction by M'Adam, Watson, and Co.
THIS DAY
at XII o'clock
on the ordnance Wharf,
100 barrels fine fresh flour,
20 cases Holland Geneva,
20 cases excellent cheese,
100 barrels limes
In good order, and just landed from on
Board the Brig Ann and Francis from Cork.

Occasionally he advertised for a runaway Negro slave, as on 25 October 1777 when he offered a $5 reward for the return of a 12-year-old slave boy, the property of Lt. Col. Turnbull. At other times he offered "Five Trunks of Men's Neat Shoes," quantities of "Jesuit's Bark," "50 boxes of sweet oranges and 150 boxes of choice lemons; raisins, figs, prunes, etc." On 4 May 1782, according to another advertisement in the *Royal Gazette*, he had 105 bales of cotton for sale. Sometimes he handled real estate, and toward the end (9 April 1783) offered his own address, 22 Wall Street, for sale. Most of his dealings, however, were in prize goods—tobacco, beverages, building materials, foodstuffs, and miscellaneous dry goods—and the ships that carried them.

It is possible only to estimate the extent of McAdam's financial success in New York City. Available evidence indicates that although he was in his early and middle twenties, his bustling firms did a "land office" business in the Tory capital, and he doubtless realized large profits. So enthusiastic were he and Watson in December 1781 that on the 26th of the month they advertised in Rivington's paper a public auction at their establishment, "the sale of a large and valuable Cargo of Prize Dry Goods—making together the most general and complete assortment of Prize Goods ever offered for sale in this city, the sale to be continued every other day till the whole is disposed of." In six years' activity, involving the sale of at least 452 ships and perhaps thousands of tons of general merchandise, their earnings were without question quite large. Their activities seemed to reach a peak in early 1782, and continued vigorous until late in 1783. As noted above, they offered the house at 22 Wall Street for sale in April 1783. Fewer and fewer advertisements appeared in August and September 1783. The last one, occupying two and one-half inches of space and rather appropriately listing a large sale of decayed stores, appeared 1 November 1783. A week later Rivington carried this terse and almost plaintive notice:

THE Copartnership of M'ADAM, WATSON and Company, being dissolved, such as remain indebted to them, are desired to be expeditious in settling

their accounts; and any that have demands against them, are requested to apply immediately at no. 191, Queen-street, and receive payment.

Well might McAdam and his Loyalist friends be frantic: independence had been recognized, peace declared, and in less than three weeks General Washington and his exuberant troops were scheduled to enter the city!

Another documented illustration of McAdam's business operations in New York City is found in the Jamieson Papers.[35] Neil Jamieson was a Scottish merchant in Norfolk, Virginia, a partner in the firm of Glassford, Gordon, Monteith, and Company, merchants of Glasgow. In 1776 because of his Loyalist sympathies he was forced to take refuge with Lord Dunmore's fleet, and was transported to New York City. There he engaged in tobacco shipping and general merchandising. He was located at 933 Water Street in 1777.[36] Volumes XXI and XXIII of his bound papers record thirteen transactions (November 1777 to July 1779) in which he made purchases from John McAdam and Company, the largest amounting to £4,967 and covering tobacco and beverages. The total volume of this trade for the 21-month period was £12,771. It appears that John McAdam and Company did at least as much business with Jamieson as did other firms whose invoices have been preserved, *e.g.*, Taylor and Bayard, Cunningham and Wardrop, and Daniel McCormick.

There exists still another illustration of McAdam's business enterprise during the American Revolution. An undated petition (*c.* 1778) is extant which was submitted by fourteen prominent New York merchants to General Sir William Howe requesting permission to export flaxseed and lumber. This memorial was signed by John Loudon McAdam and other merchants such as Thomas Buchanan, Robert and John Murray, Richard Gates, and Samuel Franklin.[37]

[35] The Papers of Neil Jamieson, 1757–1789, XXI and XXIII (MSS. in the Library of Congress).

[36] Sketches of Jamieson's career are to be found in MacBean, *Biographical Register*, I, 1756–1806, Sketch 278, p. 171, and in "Proceedings of the Loyalist Commissioners," Pemberton, VI, Halifax, 1786, testimony of 16 May 1786.

[37] Headquarters Papers of the British Army in North America, doc. 1650, Library

It is evident, therefore, that although McAdam was a very young man while in New York City, his business dealings were by no means negligible. On the contrary, his well-located rooms were the scene of extensive business transactions. It appears probable that his affluent uncle staked him in business, that he enjoyed a considerable measure of success, and that when he was forced into exile with thousands of his fellows in 1783 he was in the possession of an ample fortune, or of that portion of his fortune he was able to salvage.

Life in Revolutionary New York was sometimes gay, more frequently somber. The city was not a part of America: it was isolated, neither British nor yet American. To the Loyalists it was an oasis; the revolutionaries called it a nest of traitors, a leper colony. It was strange, tense, and fearful. When the Comte d'Estaing anchored his great fleet in Sandy Hook Bay in July 1778, the city trembled with fear. It was almost as gloomy when the news of Saratoga arrived. Yet there were numerous occasions of public joy when military and naval victories were announced, or when the plans for great campaigns were whispered abroad. Yet through it all life went on in routine fashion—there were marriages and births and deaths as the cycle of life ran its continuous course despite war and its hardships.

And in the winter of 1777–1778 John Loudon McAdam, in his twenty-second year, began to think of marriage. Then on 30 March 1778 Rivington's *Royal Gazette* carried the following notice:

> Married, a few days since [15 March], Mr. J. M'Adam, jun of this city, merchant, to Miss Gloriana Margaretta Nicoll, daughter of William Nicoll, Esq., of Suffolk county, on Long-Island; a very amiable and accomplished young lady.

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of Colonial Williamsburg. Other likely manuscript collections of colonial and Revolutionary merchants (*e. g.*, Stephen Collins and James Dunlop) have been searched, but no other significant data have been unearthed. These include collections in The New-York Historical Society, the Library of Congress, the New York Public Library, Colonial Williamsburg, the British Museum, the Public Record Office, the National Library of Scotland, and other archives in England and Scotland.

Gloriana Margaretta Nicoll was the third daughter (born 13 September 1759) of William Nicoll, 3rd, whose Islip Grange estate in southern Long Island comprised about 50,000 acres, and whose mansion was considered a showpiece.[38] William Nicoll, the patentee of Islip Grange, came to America with his father Matthias, who served as secretary to the Duke of York's commission, and who later was chosen mayor of New York City. The Nicolls during the succeeding century furnished much of the leadership of the colony. Gloriana Margaretta's uncle, William Nicoll, 2nd, had been for many years Speaker of the General Assembly of New York, and her father served as Clerk of Suffolk County (1749–1780) and as a member of the General Assembly from 1768 to 1775, when it was succeeded by the Patriot Assembly. The record of the debates and votes of the last session of the General Assembly indicates that William Nicoll played an important role in the proceedings, siding consistently with the wealthy conservatives James DeLancey and Frederick Philipse, yet with the same colleagues vigorously protesting both royal and parliamentary intrusions upon colonial liberties. William Nicoll was a member of a committee appointed "to prepare a state[ment] of the grievances of the colony and report same," and other special committees. He seemed to enjoy a large measure of respect in those critical deliberations.[39]

A grandson many years later claimed that William Nicoll, in the last critical days of the Colonial Assembly, "was enervated by a paralysis that rendered him unfit and unable to take an active part in the scenes of the Revolution," and that he favored the patriot cause.[40] Yet Judge Thomas Jones, contemporary historian

[38] Rosalie F. Bailey, *The Nicoll Family and Islip Grange* (New York, 1940), No. 29 in *Publications of the Order of Colonial Lords of Manors in America*, pp. 5, 23. Of interest also are a series of articles entitled "First Families of America," of which three (printed first in the *New York American* on 20 and 27 October, and 3 November 1935) pertain to "The Nicolls." Edited by Courtlandt Nicoll, these articles were published in book form as *The Nicolls*, by Cholly Knickerbocker [Murray Paul] New York, 1937).

[39] Bailey, *op. cit.*, pp. 24–29, presents a detailed summary of the day-by-day proceedings of the Assembly.

[40] Samuel Benjamin Nicoll to the historian "Thompson," in 1845. MS. letter in the Pennypacker Library, East Hampton, New York, quoted in Bailey, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

of the Revolution, notes that among those who in the Colonial Assembly of 1775 voted against the Acts of Congress was William Nicoll.[41] Perhaps the grandson's judgment was correct, for Nicoll was one of five well-known Loyalists who were not included in the Act of Attainder passed by the revolutionary New York Assembly in October 1779.

Gloriana Margaretta's mother was Joanna De Honeur, of French Huguenot descent. She died in 1772, leaving her husband with five young children, all under twenty years of age.[42]

Into this wealthy and prominent family, therefore, John Loudon McAdam married in 1778. On 13 April the following year his twenty-one-year-old wife presented him with a daughter, who was named Ann, possibly in honor of her father's aunt. A second child, a son christened William, was born to the couple on 23 August 1781.[43]

McAdam's last years in New York could hardly have been happy, despite his marriage in 1778 and the birth of his first two children. Loyalists were often shamefully insulted and sometimes robbed by the British military, who, as noted above, often referred to them as traitors and scoundrels. Yet throughout the bitter struggle the hopes and fears of Loyalists were closely correlated with the fortunes of war and, after 1781, the progress of the negotiations for independence and peace.

It has been observed that many thousands of Loyalists served in organized units against the Patriots. Some acted as spies for the British military, while others organized raiding parties which periodically ravaged neighboring Connecticut and New Jersey, as well as the "no man's land" bordering on rebel counties to the

[41] Thomas Jones, *History of New York During the Revolution*, edited by Edward Floyd DeLancey, (New York, 1879), I, p. 37.

[42] Obituary notice in Gaine's *New York Gazette and Weekly Register*, 7 December 1772.

[43] These dates are from the Family Bible, now in the possession of Mrs. Katherine L. Scott, Hest Bank Lodge, Hest Bank, Lancashire. It is interesting to note that a younger sister of Gloriana Margaretta McAdam, Joanna Rachel Nicoll, married Kilby McAdam, son of John Loudon's uncle, Captain Gilbert McAdam (see Bailey, *op. cit.*, pp. 87–89.).

north. Thus the fratricidal strife became ever more bitter, and early entered legislative discussions—for many Loyalists were men of wealth.

> The program for confiscation of loyalist estates went hand in hand with the move for American independence, becoming more radical as the war progressed and as the conviction grew that a separate government would be the result of the contest.[44]

The early Commissioners of Safety sought to protect Loyalist property, but the Provincial Congress as early as 1 September 1775 enacted legislation prejudicial to the property rights of Loyalists. In New York the Provincial Convention of 6 March 1777 passed resolutions providing for the appointment of Commissioners of Sequestration in seven counties, and added two counties to the list in April, and two more in May.[46] These commissioners could *sell* personal property belonging to Loyalists, and *lease* their real property to "loyal Americans." Finally, by an Act of Attainder passed 22 October 1779, the properties of the Loyalists were declared forfeited to the State. Fifty-nine persons, including William McAdam and other prominent Loyalist merchants, landholders, and former officials,[46] were declared *ipso facto* convicted and attainted of adhering to the enemy, and their estates forfeited. They were "forever banished from the State," and if found within its bounds again were to be "adjudged and declared guilty of felony," for which the law provided death without benefit of clergy! A Commission of Forfeitures was set up to deal with the fifty-nine persons named, and others of lesser notoriety.[47]

The progressively repressive measures taken by the revolu-

[44] Flick, *Loyalism in New York*, pp. 184–185.

[45] Harry B. Yoshpe, *The Disposition of Loyalist Estates in the Southern District of New York* (New York, 1939), Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, p. 13. Van Tyne, *op. cit.*, in Appendixes B and C, pp. 318–341, presents in tabular form an enumeration, with summaries, of the principal laws directed against the Loyalists during the Revolution.

[46] Neither John Loudon McAdam nor William Nicoll was included in this list.

[47] New York Laws, 3rd Session, cap. 25, summarized in Yoshpe, *op. cit.*, pp. 17–20; see also Jones, *op. cit.*, II, p. 269.

tionary government indicated the course of the military and naval struggle. After Saratoga and the French intervention, independence daily seemed more certain, and the attitude of the Patriots more vindictive. At the same time the thoughts of McAdam and other New York Loyalists must have turned to the future. William McAdam died 1 October 1779,[48] exactly three weeks before the Act of Attainder forever deprived him and his heirs of the legal rights to his estate. Of course the Act was unenforceable in British-occupied New York City and it is said that upon William's death his estate was claimed by his nephew, who had been named beneficiary in his uncle's latest will. But this will had only one witness, thus the widow under an earlier will inherited the entire estate, though "promising to will it to [John Loudon McAdam] . . . *only did not*—so in 1833 or 4 [*sic*] when she died it went all to her family."[49] The will, which was dated 20 September 1766 and proved 2 October 1779, provided minor bequests of £10 each to James and Gilbert McAdam, and left the remainder of his estate to his wife, Ann McAdam, and named her executor. It is significant to note that as late as 1815 his widow was assessed at $30,000, and in 1820 at $20,000.[50]

William Nicoll, as has been noted, passed away in 1780. He bequeathed his lands at Islip to his son William, but directed his executors to pay each of his three surviving daughters an annuity of £42 annually for ten years, and also left to them

> . . . one of his rights to land at West Neck, Shelter Island, and all the neck adjoining Blue Point in Islip, and his deceased wife's lands in Brookhaven according to her design (or 200 from his son William's share if he does not give them a deed to same), and one third of 14,000 acres in the Town of Whippleborough bought with their grandmother D'Honeur's money, also all household furniture, plate, etc.[51]

[48] *The Royal Gazette*, 2 October 1779.

[49] William McAdam to Charles McAdam, 30 October 1858, also mentioned in Georgina Keith McAdam MS., both in the possession of Mrs. Katherine L. Scott. Roy Devereux, *op. cit.*, pp. 40–41, narrates the same story, probably basing it upon the above two manuscripts.

[50] *Collections of The New-York Historical Society for the Year 1900*, pp. 72–73; William M. MacBean's MS. Notes, New-York Historical Society library.

[51] Bailey, *op. cit.*, p. 31.

It is not known how long Gloriana Margaretta and her sisters received this annuity, or if they received the other bequests, for there was much litigation concerning this will in the ensuing decade.[52]

After Yorktown, therefore, with independence virtually a certainty, with McAdam's uncle and his wife's parents deceased, and with the gloomy prospect of the early occupation of the city by jubilant and vindictive Patriots, McAdam's thoughts must have turned to the security and friendship of his original home in Scotland.

In March 1782 the North ministry fell, the King's bid for domination virtually ended, and the independence of America promised shortly to be legal reality. Beverley Robinson perhaps voiced the despair of McAdam and multitudes of Loyalists when he wrote in 1782:

> Everything in this country has continued in a state of suspense . . . until last Wednesday, July 31, on which day a packet arrived from England with the May and June mails. Ah, oh my dear Sir, what dreadful and distressing tidings does she bring us—the independence of America given up by the King without any conditions whatever, the Loyalists of America to depend upon the mercy of their enemies for the restoration of their possessions, which we are assured they will never grant, the greatest part of the estates that have been confiscated by them are already sold.[53]

The Loyalist militia disbanded in disgust, and nightly posted incendiary posters accusing the advisers of the crown of basely deserting them and handing over the thirteen colonies to the accursed rebels.

Following the news of the preliminary articles of peace, the exodus of Loyalists from New York and the other colonies became a veritable flood. One newspaper reported that more than 9,000 were departing in one fleet for Nova Scotia![54] Frederick Rhinelander, marine passenger agent, was flooded with applica-

[52] *Ibid.*, pp. 59–64.

[53] Beverley Robinson to Sir Henry Clinton, 8 August 1782, quoted in Wertenbaker, *op. cit.*, p. 251.

[54] *New-York Gazette and Weekly Mercury*, 28 April 1783.

tions for passage. Just when John Loudon McAdam decided to emigrate, or even precisely why, is not known today. He was undoubtedly *persona non grata*, having served (according to tradition) in the Loyalist militia, having lived peaceably in New York City during British occupation, and having been an agent for the sale of captured American privateers. Furthermore, his uncle's notoriety as a loyal subject would have rendered his case even more difficult. He could have sought safety in obscurity, as did many in his plight, by moving to Philadelphia or Boston or Savannah; or he might have preferred to emigrate to the Bay of Fundy, to Nova Scotia or Canada, or to the West Indies, whence so many thousands of his fellows fled to escape the angry retaliations of the victorious Patriots.

The final Treaty of Paris was not signed until 3 September 1783, and New York was formally delivered to General Washington on 25 November the same year. In the meantime, however, on the fourth of May 1783, John Loudon McAdam and his little family boarded a British vessel, and set sail for the Mother Country. They may have sailed with Captain Barnwall on *Vigilant*, which Rhinelander advertised would sail in early May.[55] They landed at Ayr on 9 June, and never returned to the New World.[56] Indeed, they were a part of a temporary recession in the tide of Europeans moving westward: for this one short space several thousand harassed and loyal Britishers increased the population of the Old World at the expense of the New.

McAdam, Watson and Company continued to operate until October or possibly early November of the same year.[57] Some of the company's advertisements in 1783 were signed "William

[55] *Ibid.*

[56] The only known authority for the dates of McAdam's departure from New York and his arrival at Ayr is the Family Bible.

[57] See Rivington's *Royal Gazette* through 1 November 1783. In his edition of 6 April 1783 the printer of *The New-York Mercury Extraordinary* wrote a fiery editorial about the "persecution of the Loyalists" by "some inveterate REBELS (a term he will use, at the risk of his Ears)." To prevent the plundering of New York he proposed a civil government of Loyalists, and named a slate of proposed officers, including McAdam, Watson and Company, Oliver Templeton, and Duncan Barclay and Company, as "Vendue Masters."

Fowler" and indicated he was associated with the "Naval Storekeeper's Office." Yet prospective buyers were advised to secure inventories at the offices of McAdam, Watson and Company.[58] Perhaps, as Devereux suggests, McAdam did have some governmental appointment, after all, even "Commissioner of Naval

JOHN LOUDON MCADAM (1756–1836)
Woodcut from *Harper's Weekly*, Vol. 33 (1889), p. 633

Prizes."[59] But the answer to this problem is not known. Nor is it known who operated the affairs of the company after McAdam sailed away.

McAdam lived in Ayrshire with his growing family until 1798, when he moved to Bristol and on to Falmouth, resuming his old occupation of prizemaster until the Peace of Amiens brought a temporary halt to the trade. He then returned to Bristol, following various mercantile interests until 1815–1816.

[58] *E.g.*, 2 and 5 July 1783.
[59] *Op. cit.*, p. 40.

At that time, in his sixtieth year, he undertook the rehabilitation of the finances and engineering practices of the large Bristol Turnpike Trust. As Surveyor-General of this Trust he skyrocketed to national and international fame. He wrote four little volumes on turnpike engineering and administration, one of which went through nine editions in England, one in the United States, and was translated into German. He advised the Post Office, testified before committees of Parliament, and with his three sons created a national network of turnpike trust specialists, directing and counseling many hundreds of the semi-autonomous trusts. His son James, General Surveyor of the Metropolis Turnpike Trust, was elevated to baronetcy in 1834—an honor, it is said, his father refused. Still moving often in the old American Loyalist circles, on the death of his wife in 1825 the indestructible old man married Anne Charlotte DeLancey, age 41, the English-born daughter of the American Loyalist, John Peter DeLancey, and a sister-in-law of James Fenimore Cooper.

Full of honors at the age of 80, John Loudon McAdam died in 1836 while on a visit to his beloved Scotland. Newspapers and periodicals throughout the British Empire noted his passing with regret. His name had already become a part of his native language. Nimrod wrote, "I consider Mr. McAdam as being, next to Dr. Jenner, the greatest contributor to the welfare of mankind that this country has ever produced."[80] Trevelyan declared that "'Macadamising' . . . became the symbol of all progress. . . ."[81] Few remembered then, and fewer remember now, that the famous Colossus of Roads was once a boy-emigrant to New York City, an ardent Loyalist-merchant during the American Revolution, and in 1783 a disconsolate exile from the independent United States of America.

[80] Quoted in Gregory, *op. cit.*, p. 239.
[81] Trevelyan, *loc. cit.*

# A GLANCE AT NEW YORK IN 1697

## THE TRAVEL DIARY OF DR. BENJAMIN BULLIVANT

*Edited by* WAYNE ANDREWS, *Curator of Manuscripts*

WE HAVE BEEN waiting two hundred fifty-nine years —which is a good long time—to learn what Dr. Benjamin Bullivant thought of our city. But the doctor was worth consulting in his own age on other topics than medicine. And what he had to say of New York City in 1697 is well worth hearing today. Here, printed for the first time, is the account of his travels from Boston to Newcastle (in what is now Delaware) and back again.

Bullivant was no ordinary traveler. In the seventeenth century his accomplishments were the wonder of New England:

His Skill in Pharmacy was such, [*wrote his good friend John Dunton,*] as rendered him the most compleat Pharmacopean, not only in all Boston, but in all New-England; and is beside, as much a Gentleman as any one in all the Countrey. And to do him right, I must consider him both as a Gentleman and a Physician. As a Gentleman, his Birth was generous, but his Qualities exceeded his Birth: He could not indeed boast of a large Genealogy of Lords and Barons descended from his Ancestors; but this he could boast, (which was far greater,) That he had Ennobled himself by his own Merits: His Valour makes him Son to Cesar, and his Learning and Oratory gives him a Title to claim Kindred to Tully. His knowledge of the Laws fitted him for the Office of Attorny-General in this country, which was conferr'd upon him, on the Revolution here. 'Tis true, he sought it not, tho' he accepted of it when 'twas offer'd: The Countrey knew his worth, and knew how to prize it, altho' himself seem'd ignorant of it: And while he held it, he was so far from pushing things to that Extremity, that some hot spirits wou'd have had him, that he was for accomodating things, and making Peace. His Eloquence is admirable: He never speaks but 'tis a Sentence; and no man ever cloath'd his words in finer or more proper Epithets; and all that flow from him with that natural simplicity, that there is nothing looks like Bombast in it. But thus much as a Gentleman; I now must represent him to you as a Physician. He is as intimate with Gallen and Hypocrates, (at least ways with their works,) as ever I have been with you, Even in our most Familiar Con-

verse. And is so conversant with all the great variety of Nature, that not a Drug or Simple can Escape him; whose Power and Vertues are known so well to him, he needs not Practice new Experiments upon his Patients, except it be in desperate Cases, when Death must be expell'd by Death. This also is Praise-worthy in him, That to the Poor he always prescribes cheap but wholesome Medicines, not curing them of a Consumption in their Bodies, and sending it into their Purses; nor yet directing them to the East-Indies to look for Drugs, when they may yet have far better out of their Gardens.[1]

Perhaps the greatest of all Bullivant's accomplishments, however, was his sense of humor. In an age when men lost their tempers easily over theological matters, he was remarkable for his tolerance. As Emory Washburn put it in his *Sketches of the Judicial History of Massachusetts*, "He was a distinguished wit withal, and notwithstanding his being an Episcopalian, seems to have been popular in his day."[2]

Evidently Bullivant was the sort of person who could not harbor a grudge. Writing to his friend Dunton on February 18, 1710 from Northampton in Old England—he appears to have come to the end of his life in England, where he began it—he could not resist expressing his appreciation of Cotton Mather's *Magnalia:* "I have read it Over and over again," he reports, "and some things are very takeing in itt, (Epigrams, Punns, Gingles, &c., excepted,) especially Sir Wm. Phips and Eliots life."[3]

This from the first Senior Warden of King's Chapel! Bullivant was selected for that post of honor in the Church of England in 1686, the year in which he was made Attorney-General.[4] By 1689, when the Mathers hatched their plot against Governor Andros, he was so respectable a figure that he was thrown into jail for eight weeks by the rebels.[5]

[1] Prince Society, *Publications*, Vol. 3, Boston, 1867, pp. 94–6.

[2] Emory Washburn, *Sketches of the Judicial History of Massachusetts*, Boston, 1840, p. 93.

[3] Prince Society, *Publications*, Vol. 3, Boston, 1867, p. 94.

[4] Henry Wilder Foote, *Annals of King's Chapel*, 2 vols., Boston, 1882, Vol. 1, pp. 44, 46; Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings*, 1895–6, Second Series, Vol. V, p. 289.

[5] Massachusetts Historical Society, *Proceedings*, 1858, Vol. XVI, p. 103.

Bullivant was respectable, no doubt of that. But he had the good sense to respect his opponents. The detachment with which he discusses the Dissenters at Newport and elsewhere is one of the charms of his travel diary. Another of its merits is the conscientious spirit with which he sets down minute facts. These may have been tid-bits at the moment he wrote; today they are invaluable details for social historians.

The good doctor cannot be compared with Madam Sarah Kemble Knight, who bounced her way on horseback from Boston to New York in 1704, for she is a saucy story-teller, and he a mature man of affairs. But his diary is just as revealing, in its way, as hers. While she calls on various ministers along the road, he introduces us to more than one governor, and even takes us inside Governor Fletcher's house. Besides, and this is something that cannot be overlooked, he gives us a description of the first Trinity Church as it was being built.

The truth is that no traveler to New York in the seventeenth century has left an account of the city that matches Bullivant's in either detachment or detail. Daniel Denton's *Brief Description of New York*, 1670, is not much more than a topographical sketch. Jasper Danckaert's *Journal*, 1679–80, is the record of a religious enthusiast. As for The Reverend John Miller's *New York Considered and Improved*, 1695, it is self-righteous as its title and not much more illuminating.

So far as we know, there is only one other contribution of Dr. Bullivant to our colonial history—his journal of the happenings in New England from February 13 to May 19, 1790, following the departure of Sir Edmund Andros.[6]

A final word as to how the travel diary came into the possession of the Society. Handed down in the family of Richard Rudd, a lawyer in London, it passed into the hands of Mrs. Eustace G. Edwards, who presented it to Miss Barbara Simonds of New York. Through the Foster-Jarvis Fund, the Society purchased the diary from Miss Simonds in 1954.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 101–8. The original is in the Public Record Office, London.

A Journall with observations on my travail from Boston in N. E. to N. Y. New-Jersies & Philadelphia in Pensilvania. A. D. 1697.

On munday June y^e^ 7^th^ 1697 about 3 afternoon, tooke horse at Boston, and came that night to Mr. Billingley's farme 22 myles from Boston. Tuesday June 8^th^ breakefasted att M^r^ woodcock's 12 myles farther, dined this day at M^r^ Childs at Seacone[k] alias Rehoboth, about 5 in the evening came to Bristoll, thence to y^e^ ferrys where findeing nothing but a sloope without oares, we were becalmed, & gott not on Road-Island before 8 at night, we rodd from the landing place about 4 myles to a Quaker's farme, where I was exceedingly well accomodated gratis, with meate, drinke, Lodgeing and horsemeate.

*the next morneing after 7 myles rideing came to the chiefe town of y^e^ Island named Newport, to w^ch^ you enter by a Curious playne or Comon, on which you see feedding good store of Neate cattle, & sheepe. Newport is seated partly on the seaside or harbour, & partly by a Long streete shooteing forth into the Land, being of late much enlarged in good wooden buildings, and many were now in Building, here are some Merchants, and shopkeepers, who live plentifully and easily, the Island affording most excellent provisions of all kind, the people Courteous & obligeing to strangers, y^e^ farmes for Largenesse, & goodness of pasturadge, excelling anything I ever saw in N. E., & they produce in each farme wood enough to shelter theyr cattle in the Sumer heates, & warme theyr chimnies in the winter cold. Theyr dairies may equall if not exceed, the best yeomen's farmes in England some have made 90[l] per annum from theyr dairie alone, and on one farme have shorne upwards of 1000 sheepe, & sold every pound of wool for 10^s^ per to ready money, it being much desired by all people, as excelling any that is showne on y^e^ Continent. The present Gouern^r^ is Walter Clarke Esq. a Quaker in profession and practice as to his Religion but a comely, & courteous gentleman he is chosen annually, and some times holds 3 or 4 yeares successively.[1] There is a small Battery of 10 gunns at Newport, which comand the harbour & entrance but somewhat too much decayed for this time of warr. Religion is tollerated here, the Island from the beginneing being a Sanctuary for persecuted persons of all sorts. The Quakers & Antisabbatarian anabaptists are the more numerous. there is of Late a New meeteing house for the Orthodox of all Kinds, where a young man is the preacher, but no full

* Paragraph breaks, with few exceptions, are the editor's. Occasionally Bullivant, in lieu of paragraph indentions, drew a line across his page, but generally the narrative is set down without breaks.

[1] Walter Clarke (c. 1638–1714) was Deputy Governor from 1679 to 1686 and from 1700 to 1714, besides being Governor 1676–1677, from May to June, 1686, and from 1696 to 1698.

Church gouuernment for want of ordination,[2] the preacher is a good man and pious, & supposed to be no enemy to the Church of England but bredd up in Cambridge N. E. could the Inhabitants obtaine a church of Engl[d] minist[r] duly qualified, they would soone grow into a good ordered church. The ground of this meeting house was given by Capt. Coddinton, & is used in the weeke days for a gramar Schoole.[3] the Inhabitants of this Island (w[ch] is about 13 myles Long, & 4 broad) are neare one 3[d] quakers, who live in greate plenty, theyr Annuall meeteing was at this time, where I heard both men & women teach in theyr publique meeteing house for 5 or 6 dayes successively, & neare 6 howers each day, having many speakers to carry on the worke, & sometimes one person speakes twice or thrice in the same meeteing time. They come 2 or 300 myles to this annuall meeteing, & meete with some disturbance from An ancient Sort of Quakers called singing quakers, whome they keep out of theyr meeteing house, for by the sudden raptures of singing they fall into, & by theyr contradictive humo[r] they give publique disturbance to y[e] Speaker & howbeit they are kept out of the house by persons who sitt at the door for that purpose yet they faile not to crowd to the doore & under the windows, & ever now & then with an elevated Voice contradict the speaker, who notwithstanding holds on his discourse without replyeing. I saw one of those singing quakers a french man, and Discoursed him in y[e] ffrench toung, all that he would say, was that they were fallen from the Light, and he was moved to come a Long journey that he might reprove they[r] apostasy and indeed the quakers themselves did accknowledge to me, those singing quakers were of an older standing amongst them, but had fallen into Licentious practices which being against truth, they found in themselves a witnesse against them. I observed y[e] Sabath day but slightly regarded at Newport the Antisabbatarian anabaptists are 7[th] day men, derideing it, yet though they own it not as a Sabath yet hold a Lecture of Religious worship on the same, But on other parts of the day, Scruple not Servile Labour of any Kind I observed however 3 Indians set in the stocks many howres on the Lords Day for being drunke, for by Law they were to sit there untill they be sober and are sure to keep a strict Lent y[e] while. I tooke notice of sundry sober Indians both men & women cleanly cloathed, quaker fashion, very observant at y[e] Meeteing. The magistrates no. 12 are chosen annually and are partly quakers, partly 7[th] day men, & partly Orthodox (if I can truly apply it to any party here) and agree but indifferently in theyr state matters. They have a Regimentall Militia, all foote, & are able to call the Island togeather upon an alarum in a few howers and can make about 700 fighting men. we bought choyce Veale by the quarter for 2[d] the pound, theyr mutton was pure good—theyr

[2] Trinity Church was erected some time between 1698 and 1702.

[3] According to Antoinette Foster Downing, *The Architectural Heritage of Newport, Rhode Island*, 1952, the original Meeting House had been pulled down by 1700.

butter & cheese excellent & theyr wine, beere & cyder, very comendable —Exceeding much fish—

I continued June y^e^ 9^th^ 10^th^ 11^th^ 12^th^ & 13^th^ at Newport aforesaid waiteing for a wind. *And on munday June the 14^th^* in the Mary Sloope of N.Y. John Trevet m^r^, wind at N. an easy gale about 4 in the Morneing weighed & sayled out of Newport harbor we had a small gale untill we gott about poynt Judith, then our wind quickned, and we espyed A ship at about 3 Leagues distance and as we imagined standing after us, or for block Island (which now we saw fair on our Larbord side) but we haveing good way soone Lost her, & about 4 in y^e^ afternoon came abreast with ffishers Island on our Larbord side which passing with a pleasant gale and easy Sea, by Sunset we entered the Sound, haveing Connecticut Colony on our Starboard and Long Island on our Larboard. Lands very pleasant & delectable to the Eye at this Season, Long Island is about 35 Leagues in Length, & in this Sound we find many fine Islands, well settled some belonging to N.Y. gouuernm^t^ others to Connecticot, the Wind favoureing us all night, we made ashift to stemm the Ebb (when it came) and gott some small way and so standing on, at Breake of day. *Tuesday June 15^th^* found our selves on breast of cow neck harbour in Long Island (for we keep nearer the Island then the maÿn for fear of Southerly winds) and here our wind slackning we hardly stemmed the tide. But the tide serveing us againe in about six howres time, we made indifferent good way & about sunset came in sight of frogmorton poynt,[4] but before we gott up, the wind came southerly, and the tide against us that we could not weather y^e^ point so came to an anchor within itt and rode as smooth as in a milke payle, encircled with most beautifull Verdant Islands, which we saw besprinkled with feilds of wheate, & Very Neate houses. *So on Wednesday June 16^th^ at* brake of daÿ, had a Briske tide with an easy gale at South East w^ch^ soone brought us on breast of Harlem (Coll. Morrisons[5] farmes showing themselves & Buildeings very beautifully) and imediately came up with Hell-gate (so called by the Mariners from y^e^ Noÿse, and turbulencie of y^e^ waters, & currants amongst certain Rocks, & Little Islands) which we passed however (at that season being almost still water) without much terrour, & haveing fayr daylight & our boate on heade, to keepe our sloope from falling off to the Rocks we soon passed this small Scilla & Charybdis, and came up w^th^ y^e^ Richmond ffrigat Capt^n^ Evans comander whom we feared would impress our marriners, but gave us no disturbance she lyes about 2 Myles below N.Y. in the sound, so standing on our way with an easy gale, and a whiskeing tide, we came to an Anchor before N.Y. about 8 of y^e^ Clock in the morneing. *Vizt. wednesd. June 16. 1697.*

[4] Throgg's Neck.

[5] This presumably refers to the lands conveyed in 1668 to Colonel Lewis Morris of Barbados, Merchant, lands erected in 1697 into the Manor of Morrisania.

Gentlemens names of N.Y. from whome I recd singular Courtesies

| | |
|---|---|
| His Exc. Benj. Fletcher Gouernor[6] & | Captain Tuthill |
| Collonell De peister[7] | Doctor Gaudineau |
| Collonell Lodwick[8] | mr Secretary Clarkson[13] |
| mr Myles ffoster | mr Jaimeson Clerke of y^e^ Councill[14] |
| mr Philip ffrench[9] | Coll. Smith[15] |
| mr. Ed: Ampthill att.[10] | Judge Pinhorn[16] |
| mr Emmet attorn[11] | mr Monham |
| Capt. Tudor attorn[12] | mr Lawrence[17] |
| Lieut: Lawrence of y^e^ Richmond | Coll. Heathcott[18] |
| mr Janeway purser of y^e^ Richmond | Capt. Levinston[19] |

So soone as I came on Shoare I delivered my Letters as directed, and being charged with one to his Excellencie went to wayte upon him at y^e^ fort being introduced by mr. Myles fforster where I was rec^d^ by his Exc. with the wonted generosity he uses to all gentlemen & strangers, and after haveing p^d^ him my devoirs, and been treated w^th^ a glasse of wine, his Exc. was pleased to aske me, if I cared to see the fort & platformes, & the magazines, w^ch^ favour I thankefully accepted, and in goeing out of his Exc. house (w^ch^ is in the fort) he was pleased to show me his dineing roome, a Large & goodly hall, wainscoated and Cornished[20] throughout, and upon the wainscoat round the Roome were handsomely placed about 300 Choice firearmes, & on the mantle piece over the chimney, 8 or 10 Large and well cleaned Blunderbusses, all of Brasse. His Exc. was pleased also to shew me his study, which was a goodly parlour, Lined on one part with pistolls sett in Rondellos[21] after the manner of y^e^ guard chamber at Whitehall or Windsor (but not so numerous) also sundry Indian weapons, an

[6] Fletcher's task was to restore peace after the Leisler Rebellion.

[7] Abraham De Peyster (1657–1728) was Mayor of New York 1691–94, Treasurer of the Province 1706–21.

[8] Lt. Col. Charles Lodwick became Mayor in 1694.

[9] Philip French became Mayor in 1702.

[10] Edward Antill (1659–1711) was admitted to the bar in 1686.

[11] James Emmott was one of the King's Counsel at Leisler's trial.

[12] John Tudor served on the first vestry of Trinity Church.

[13] Matthew Clarkson, founder of the family in America, became Secretary of the Province in 1690.

[14] David Jamison served on the first vestry of Trinity Church.

[15] Colonel William "Tangier" Smith (1654–1705) of the Manor of St. George, patented 1693.

[16] From 1691 to 1698 William Pinhorne was a Justice of the Supreme Court.

[17] John Lawrence became Mayor in 1691.

[18] Caleb Heathcote (1665/6–1720/1), an Anglican who helped found Trinity Parish, had the Manor of Scarsdale erected in 1701.

[19] Robert Livingston (1654–1728), First Lord of the Manor.

[20] Corniced.

[21] Rondelles.

Indian stone hatchette, or ax, a Buckler, a poleax, some Scimatars very pretty to behold & sett in good order The other part of the Roome was furnished with a considerable number of books of sundry Sizes on regular shelves guilded and Lettered on the backs.

His Exc. then was pleased to accompany me round the workes, from gunn to gunn, the platformes & Carriadges being in excellent order & the guns well dispos'd to make a gallant defence, if an enemy should come before itt. it hath about 44 good pieces mounted on the workes, a good well, sutable Lodgeings for the officers & souldiers, a New and Very handsome chappel of stone and brick, with a handsome Lantern or Cupulo, and a Large Bell lately hanged in itt. y^e^ chappell was raised by his Exc. from the old foundation not yet fitted for divine Service. I saw in the wall of y^e^ chappell, an inscription on a fayre stone to the memory of the late Gouuern^r^ Slouter[22] who dyed there. His Exc. then did me the honou^r^ to show me the magazine, fully furnished, and well kept by an armourer, it hath about 1500 excellent fire armes, cartouch boxes, Baggonets, swords, drums, hatchets, and other furniture for the warr. The powder house is a good distance from y^e^ fort, at an out part of the City, and well enclosed w^th^ a pallisado fence and can be protected by an outworke neare the City gate, which hath some Cannon on itt. [*Here appears Bullivant's crude sketch of "y^e^ Fort & City of N. Y." which is reproduced on the opposite page.*]

The fort stands upon a point, that hath a most lovely prospect to y^e^ water and beyond the water to Long Island one way over the sound, & to Staten Island the other side over Hudsons River to the Jersies. the sound is scarce so broad as the Thames at N. Y. and Hudsons River about twice so wide, the fort points upon the Entrance from Sea to comand ships in theyr approach to the town. The walls of y^e^ Fort are about 20 feet high from without & pallisaded besides. His Exc. is also makeing a Low Battery of 8 or 10 gunns without y^e^ walls, next Hudsons River. There are besides sundry Batteries in the City, some of 12 or 14 great guns towards the harbour, others towards the land at y^e^ passadge to the town gate.

Haveing seene what was observable in the fort, his Exc. honoured me so farr as to shew me what was observable in y^e^ City & first the English church, new from the ground, of good brown square stone & brick exactly English fashion with a Large square steeple at the west end, not yet half carried up but the church is covered though not yet glazed or seated.[23] his Exc. hath beene pleased to give greate encouragement to this worke, and you see his armes upon the East and carved in stone and Coloured, at present y^e^ English use the New Dutch Church once a Sabath. There is besides in the City a small Lutheran church, and a French church & here I cannot omitt a remarquable story, that is an undoubted truth.

[22] Governor Henry Sloughter signed Leisler's death warrant.

[23] The first service at Trinity was not held until Sunday, March 13, 1698.

BULLIVANT'S DIAGRAMMATIC SKETCH OF "YE FORT & CITY OF N.Y.," 1697

The English Quakers being desired to contribute towards the Building of y^e^ Church in y^e^ fort, excused themselves by saying itt was against their Conscience so to do, But was content & voluntarily offered themselves to pull down y^e^ old one at theyr own expense, which they performed, and at a greater cost than what might have been expected from them on a Contribution or Subscription.

His Exc. was farther pleased to walk the town with me and shew me the multitudes of greate & Costly buildings erected since his arrivall about 4 years since to be theyr Gouuernour. Amongst w^ch^ none appeared more Considerable than that of Coll. Abr. Depeisters a noble building of the newest English fashion, and richly furnished with hangings and pictures. The staire case Large, & Noble, y^e^ whole built out of the Sea or Sound within this 2 yeares past, as are abundance of Lofty brick & stone buildings on the same range, theyr back doores & wharfes, warehouses & gardens Lookeing into the Sound, & Harbour

parting from Coll. Depeister whose entertainment is generous & like a

Nobleman though a merchant by his profession, his Exc. was pleased to enjoyne me to dine with him at the fort, w^ch was in y^e forementioned hall furnished with armes, where we had a plentifull & well ordered table both of flesh & fish, with plenty of wine, & other good Liquors. (it should have been remembred, y^t mr. Smith his Exc. chaplaine had read the publique prayers of the church in the greate Hall to such as came.) Dinner ended, I took my leave of his Exc. as did the other gentlemen mr. Jameson, Capt. Tudor mr. Secretary Clarkson &^ca who were so kind as to give me a Lemonado at the Kings armes tavern, where whilst we were sitting I was told his Exc. with his coach & 4 white horses, was at the doore below, & desired my company to take the ayre with him, there was with him the 2 Judges, we went 3 or 4 myles on the Road, & in our return called at mr. Clapps a kind of a pleasure garden, and dranke good Cyder & mead, thence returned to Coll. Depeisters about sunsett, where I was earnestly urged by the Coll. to take part of an evening treate To w^ch he had invited his Excellency but because I had understood itt would scarce breake up before 2 or 3 next morneing, I pretended earnest businesse in the City, and so got my selfe excused. Bidding his Exc. and the Company good night, and retired to my Lodgeings at Madam Smith's, a dutch gentlewoman, but an English mans widow, where I lave in a well furnished parlour, an excellent bed, with pure fine sheets and Pillow Beeres.[24]

Thursday June y^e 17. dined with mr. Edward Ampthill an attourney. Friday June 18 dined with Mr. Emmet an attourney, an ingenuous and well esteemed gentleman, Saturday June y^e 19^th 169-. I attended his Excellencie on ringing the fort Bell about 11 of y^e Clock to morneing prayers & prayers being ended his Exc. was pleased to give me the honour of accompanying him in his coach to Clapps, where with other company we dined on an excellent Soupe—a dish of Beanes and bacon—a dish of rosted Lamb and Sallad—a dish of young peas—a dish of rosted chicken a Dish of tarts—a Dish of curds & Creame—a dish of Cherries, a dish of mulberries & Currants Dinner ended, after the Kings health, we dranke y^e Gouuernors & the Neighbouring gouuernors healths & returned to town at Sunsett.

Having been now 4 dayes at N.Y. I have Learned to say something of its Constitutions, & fashions. it was made a city by a Charter in gouuernor Dungans time[25] hath a Mayo^r Sheriff, Recorder, and a town clerck, nominated by ye Gouuernor and Councill. Six Aldermen, and six comon Councell men elected by the freemen, vizt. one Alderman & one Councill man for each of the 6 wards in the City. The Mayors court is kept every Tuesday, he hath no ensigns of honour but the beareing a white staffe in his hand, Like y^e Sherifs of London the city is well seated for A trade, the ships bound out being quickly at Sea, hath a good and safe harbour,

[24] Pillow cases.
[25] The Dongan Charter dates from 1686.

Capable to entertaine whatsoever number of ships may happen to come in, and in case of being pressed by an enemie, may Runn up Hudson river a hundred myles if they thinke fitting into the Country. To secure them from Ice & storms, they have also an out wharfe, made of a greate length like that at Boston, & contrived & forwarded by S^r^ Edmond Andros, within which theyr small craft and Lesser ships, lye safe, and secure all weathers whatsoever. it now appears y^at^ theyr auncient buildings were very meane, amongst whom theyr town house makes but a meane figure, though sufficient to keep court above and a Goale underneath. But I have learnt they have layd out a good piece of Riseing ground, and design a new one w^th^ all speed. most of theyr new buildings are magnificent enough, y^e^ fronts of red and yallow (or flanders) brick Lookeing very prettily, some of them are 6 stories high & built with a Gable end to y^e^ front, & so by Consequence make Very narrow garratts. the 3^d^ story is usually a warehouse, and over it a Crane for hawleing up goods. the Lower part is comonly Very substantiall & neate. The Sealeing usually of well smoothed boards, betwixt Joyces as large as our Brest sumers, & kept so cleane by frequent washing with soape & sand, that indeed makes the Roome very pleasant. The windows are high & large, as are the stories, ten or 12 foot y^e^ first the casements of wood at bottom of the windows, and without, strong and thick shutters. The chimneys without Jawmes,[26] hanging like the Topp of a pulpitt, but usually a good rich fringed callico, or other stuffe halfe a yard deep at y^e^ edges, with Dutch tyles on each side the fire place, carried up very High They also tyle theyr sides of y^e^ staircase, and bottom of windows they have excellent pictures, and good down bedds, yet after all theyr streetes are Nasty & unregarded, y^e^ which they excuse at this time, saying the Multitudes of buildings now going forward are y^e^ Occasion, but being over, the City gouvernment will rectifie all those matters. They have many publique wells enclosed & Covered in y^e^ Streetes I do not know I ever saw above one pump. most bricked houses have y^e^ date of the yeare on them, contrived of Iron cramps to hold in y^e^ timber to the walls. Theyr shops very irregular, & few or none open, & to most you go up with 5 or 6 steps some of stone, Most of wood. N. Y. hath severall wide Large and orderly streetes, & athwart them sundry narrower, in w^ch^ notwithstanding are many Very good buildings, & tradesmen of note, it being not regarded where a man lives in N. Y. as to his trade, for all are known, sundry trees[27] are frequently sett at the doores. The signs are usually well done here. The children of rich parents are usually without shooes or stockens, and young mayds (especially Dutch) weare morneing gowns allday Long and bare footed, indeed I cannot say I saw any of y^e^ Dutch that were tollerably well dresst, though rich enough to weare what they pleased,

[26] Jambs.
[27] Presumably: signs.

they are a parcimonious people, & expend Little on theyr livelyhood, which makes them usually well moneyed, & good paymasters.

*Sunday June the 20th* heard y^e^ french minister in the morneing in theyr own church which is a wooden building, with A gallery, a handsome pulpit, & a seate for the gouuernor. I attended his Exc. from y^e^ Fort about 11 of the clock to the Dutch church, he hath most of the gent in Comission attending him on foot, & is followed by ½ a company of Musquetiers with the drum beateing to the church doore, he is mett by the Mayo^r^ & Sheriffe with they^r^ white staffes and so accompanied to Church In which his Excellency hath a stall on purpose, distinct & elevated, with a cloath of State & Cushion before him, on each side are Stalls for the mayo^r^, Sheriff, & Aldermen & principall gentry. The Mayo^r^ & Sheriff have a Carpet of Turkie worke before them, Sermon ended we returned as we came & in the afternoon had prayers only. The Dutch seeme not very strict in Keepeing the Sabath, you should see some shelling peas at they^r^ doors children playing at they^r^ usuall games in the streetes & y^e^ taverns filled.

Monday. June 21. wrote to W: R. E. G. and B. W. at Boston, and this day his exc. sent his gent^m^ to invite me to Dinner, but I prayed his Excuse being before invited by Capt. Tudor.

Tuesday June 22. at N. Y. dined w^th^ his Exc. at the fort and there met with m^r^ Ben: Woodridge of N. E. returneing to Boston from Philadelphia.

Wednesday June 23. rode in company with mr Ed: Ampthill from N. Y. to Harlem about 10 myles from N. Y. to visit mr James Grayham attourney generall[28] my old friend who lives on a very stately farme, we were nobly entertained, saw many Acres of most excellent wheate, & of a sort of french barley shaped almost like an english white wheate. An orchard of 40 acres or more of well grown apple trees, this day I saw the Virginia red bird wild in y^e^ feild, not to be seen in N. E. we returned the same night to N. Y.

Here are now most excellent Cherries fully ripe. 6 or 7 li[29] for a Bitt[30] (or Riall spanish) worth Sixpence England money 8^d^ N.E. 9^d^ N.Y. 10^d^ pensylvania—the houses of N. Y. stand closer than in Boston, & so Contiguous generally that theyr yards, and Backsides are very small and rarely any garden in the best streetes theyr fronts are mostly narrow, seldome above 25 foote, excepting some few principall buildings. poore sandy Land about N. Y. being a neck encompassed with Rivers, the East River Running into y^e^ Sound. North into Hudson River. The Carts of N. Y. are very small and do not carry above a Sixth part of a coard

[28] James Graham was first appointed Attorney-General of New York in 1685, and served again in that capacity from 1692 until his death in 1701. Bullivant probably met him when Graham went to Boston in 1688 to become Attorney General of the Dominion of New England.

[29] li: poundweight.

[30] 12¼ cents.

of wood at on^e^ Load, for which they have 3^li^. they comonly goe into y^e^ sea to unloade at the sloops side. The Brewers carry they^r^ Barrells on a truck with 4 wheeles, just so wide as a barr^el^ may lye Long wayes, & Carrieth 4 at a time, the wheeles are equall with the body of the truck, & not above 2 foot in height the Signs are generally well drawn and they^r^ Taverns sweet, & neate. The Dutchwomen (of y^e^ younger sort) troop the streets in morneing gowns very long, theyr heads cleane, & well enough set off (for they^r^ faces) but without shooes & stockings, unlesse of a Sabath day.

Thursday June 24. at N. Y. tooke my Leave of his Exc. & this evening we had news from Albany that 2 English had been killed, & 2 made Captives by the Indian enemy and that much shooteing was heard at Albany, as if it had been An alarum, so put of[f] my designed passadge at this time thither. And on

Friday June the 25th 1697 about 3 afternoone parted from N.Y. in an empty wood boate of 6 or 7 tunn, the m^r^, french man belonged to woodbrige in East-Jarsey, he had no hands but himselfe & his wife bigg with child, who manadged the sayles, we passed the Baÿ about 3 Leagues wide, and saw the narrows by which betwixt 2 head Lands about 2 myles distance is made the entrance for ships into N.Y. Baÿ, and had Staten Island on our Larbord, & East Jersie on our Starboard side all the way, so entering the River we came too against Capt^n^ Cornelius his house on Staten Island, and went on shoar for cherries and Long black mulberries now Very ripe & good this river is called by the English or Dutch Stam Cull[31] and runns not above 20 myles up into the Land, gives a prospect of many fayr & Large salt meadows, and in some places whole Islands of the same without any wood, about sunset we Lost the tide, and were obliged to come about a myle below Carter's poÿnt[32] so the skipper rowed me up in his Canoo, and Landed me at m^r^ Warrens ordinary, (which is a house of Colonell Townleys) on Carters poynt in East Jersey, where I lay that night almost killed w^th^ musquettos, & disturbed by some privateers who brought theyr girles thither to make merry, and were so till 2 in the morneing in the same Room where I was in bed. at this place beginns a small creeke but deep enough to carry up sloops to Elizabethtown, but understanding the town was not above 2 myles by Land, and a pleasant walke I sent up my Luggadge, and the next morneing walked it on foot. Viz^t^ *on friday y^e^ 25th of June 97*, and came to mr Jewells ordinary in Elizabethtown in East Jersey. here I visited the courteous & obligeing Coll. Townley.[33] This place was formerly the seate of y^e^ Gouuerno^rs^ of East Jersey, it is a large Country like villadge, seated on either side the said Creeke, y^e^ Neighbours passing to one another in Canoos where it is

[31] Kil Van Kull.
[32] Carteret's Point.
[33] Colonel Richard Townley, who married the widow of Governor Philip Carteret.

about a stones cast over, but where Narrower and upwards into the Land, it is passed by a Bridge, it is reddish Land like some parts of England, and where cleare is English honeysuckle grass, it is here a smooth champagne land, & few stones looked much like an English villadge. This settlement is not of above 30 years standing, and in y^e^ management of proprietours who send the gouvernors, And patent out y^e^ Lands.

*Saturday June 26:* at Elizab[eth]town *Sunday June 27* at Eliz.town, y^e^ minister is m^r^ Herringman[34] (an old man), & here is a pretty meeteing house of wood with armes[35] in itt as in New England. To which they assemble by Drum. at this town, & in some other places, I observed the oven was often abroad, single, and alone, & uncovered from the weather. The Creeke admitts sloops of 40 tunns to theyr back doores, Laden with timber, or bricks, shingles, or pipe staffs, with w^ch^ they trade to York for provisions of flower, etc., and also for money it may be a town of Noate in time. In this province I saw the fire flies in great abundance (the most knowing of the inhabitants assured me it was from theyr eyes that the scintilla or sparke issues, or showes itselfe) it was Moonshine, & I saw a Bird called an West-India batt, who continually preys on these flies all y^e^ night Long, & yet makes a Continuall whistleing in her pursuite of them it is a gray flye, and without beauty by day Light, But catching some of them, it appeared to me the seate of the shineing was under theyr sayle (as in an English glow-worme) and when I had rubbed the part into pieces it continued yet its Luster, appeareing in the Light a kind of Jellÿ, & I am of opinion it is no other than y^e^ glowworme envigorated by the heat of the Climate to become winged.

*munday June 28^th^* 97. took horse at m^r^ Jewells in Eliz: town, came to woodbridge a handsome country villadge 8 myles distant. Thence to Perth Amboy 4 myles farther where I went to deliver Letters to Coll. Hamilton, gouuerno^r^ of the Jersies[36] & to his secretary, but found them from home. This town hath an excellent port, & is encircled with 2 Navigable rivers but is a very uneven piece of Land & almost deserted, and the houses dropping down, here we dined, & thence to piscataway at m^r^ Hulls on a plaine, & 2 myles rideing more to the greate navigable river called Rariton River against m^r^ Inians. we forded the River at Low water by the assistance of a Pilot who waded before us, & came to m^r^ Inions his ordinary on the other side of the banke, here we were well lodged & entertained. And on Tuesday morneing *June 29. 1697* set out for Burlinton, we had the finest road imaginable, but haveing no entertainment or bathing place untill we were obliged to ride 35. myles in the woods, we were with our horses, & the hott weather much fatigued, resting once in 8 or 10 myles by a fresh streame to refresh our selfes with water & our

[34] John Harriman (1647/8–1705), who was graduated from Harvard in 1667.

[35] At this time the "town-house" and the "meeting house" were one.

[36] Andrew Hamilton (d. 1703), was the last proprietary Governor of the Jersies.

horses with grasse, w^ch^ was then in greate plenty, so this day we fall 15 myles short of Burlinton, & reposed at a Quuakers plaine ordnary, with what content we could, haveing Hobsons choyce, that or Nothing.

Hence on *Wednesday June 30^th^ 97* in the forenoone came to Burlington in West Jarsey, seated on the side of Delaware River on an even playne, it hath a town house and market house in the Center, & a stone prison under all an hexangular Brick meeteing house and a Buryall place adjoyneing the streetes are directly straite and fine, 2 acre Lotts to most dwellings, some of the houses are brick with theyr balconies. I here saw & eate most excellent cherries, Rasp'ries, gooseberries & codlins.[37] They have a publick wharfe or Landing place, where sloops are secured from the weather, & where Tide boates from Philadelphia Land, & go off with passengers in wherries as they do from Lond^n^ to gravesend it being about 20 myles by water from home, & is about 3 howres & ½ passadge. the Delaware is here about one myle ½ over, & may bring up a ship of 500 tuñ against the town, But here is but a small trade for want of merchants, and by the much Better accomodations of Philadelphia, which is 20 myles Nearer the Sea, & on the other side of Delaware River in Pensylvania.

Thursday July: 1. 1697. I continued at Burlinton, in the pleasant Society of Esq^r^ Tatam[38] an old England gentleman, and a chiefe merchant at his place here also I saw m^r^ Hunloke,[39] and Tom Peachees[40] wife & Son—Here it was Excessive hott, and I saw many (to coole they^r^ houses) boyleing theyr potts in y^e^ open ayr. Friday July 2^d^ came from Burlinton in West-Jersey to philadelphia in Pensylvania, by water in a pay^r^ of Oares or London wherry, the Delaware was exceeding pleasant to passe, the tide soone shooteing us down with very easy rowing, we had the diversion of the Sturgeons playing & jumpeing entirely cleare of y^e^ water, & the Land of W. Jersey on our Larboard, & Pensylvania on our Starboard side, the Delaware being hitherto no wider than it is against Burlington, & on each side you behold the fay^r^ plantations of Swedes, and English, Covered with feilds of Wheate and Barley.

Philadelphia in Pensylvania is seated on Delaware River 150 myles from the Sea, it is now but 15 yeares since they begann to Build, and yet do all ready shew a very magnificent City The Streetes are regularly layd out along the Delaware, & thwarting Into the Land, Broad, & even, Leadeing forth into smooth roades, that carry you into the Country, & at about 2 myles distance from y^e^ River delaware, direct from the City, is another Large River, called Schuilkill beyond which some are building & this is the extent of y^e^ City bounds to the Land from Delaware, and it is probable enough the Vacancy betwixt the 2 Rivers may in time be

[37] Codlings, a variety of apple.
[38] John Tatham was made Recorder of Burlington in 1694.
[39] Edward Hunloke was Justice of Burlington in 1694.
[40] Thomas Peachee was listed as a Friend in 1692.

made into fayr streetes, & Joyned into one City as is designed & layed out by the Proprietor, & Surveyed [by] mr Penn in his printed draught of ye City of Philadelphia which when finished, will be almost a square in forme. The Delaware is fresh & good water so are theyr pumps & wells, here is also sundry sort of fish, Sturgeon & flesh of all sorts plenty enough. There are some few large and stately dwellings of some eminent Merchants, But ordinarily theyr houses exceeded not our second rate buildings in London, and many Lower. But generally very pretty with posts In the streets as in London and shops after the English mode they have a market twice a week with butchers stalls, & Blocks, and a market Bell, Rung also att certain howres of the day by a woman to give the time of the day. Here is a very large, tall, Brick meeteing house for the quakers neare ye market place, & not fair distant a Neate little church for ye Ch of England, English fashion, handsomely pailed in, and a sufficient decent buryall place annexed to itt. Philadelphia hath somewhat upwards of 500 families dwelling now in itt, & very many Buildings goeing forwd it seems allready to exceede most shire towns in England, it hath no fortifications, though very capable of it, (on ye River side) being so farr distant from ye sea, & mostly quakers they say it is not theyr practice to trust in carnall weapons & find by good usadge of the Indians they are a safeguard to them, & rather seeke shelter amongst the english than annoy them wth a warr being at a greate distance from all European enemies. I was presented at Philadelphia wth sundry Nosegayes of as large & beautifull flowers as are ordinarily in the London gardens. The gouuernor of this province is the Honble Coll Markham,[41] who lives in a small, but very Neate dwelling, and is a person of much Courtesie, and Learned, he hath his Lady with him, and some children. here is gathered the Black stone in which is found the Salamanders wool, so called because it will not burn, though it may be spunn into thread for service.[42] Philadelphia hath the purest bread and strongest beere in America the Beefe, Veale & pork tollerable but short of England mutton & Lamb indifferent, but scarce at some times of ye yeare. Butter and cheese very good. They have two markets a weeke, wednesdays and Saturdays, and the most like an old England market of any in this part of the world. it is at this Instant very hott weather, which obliges people to go very thinly habited of the Negros & Indians I saw many quite naked, except what covered the Secrets of nature Vessells of 500 tunns lay theyr sides to the wharfes, & unlode by theyr own takle. The Quakers are very generous in theyr Entertainments and furnish theyr houses very Neatly and stick not to give theyr daughters to men of the world, and indeed they are many of them very prettey women, here are apples, peares, peaches, apricots,

[41] William Markham (c. 1635–1704 5), Lieutenant-Governor or Governor of the Province and the Lower Counties 1693–99.

[42] Asbestos.

mulberries, & cherries in abundance. They pay little or no taxes of any Sort whatsoever nor any Customes or Excise have no militia, only a Night watch in Philadelphia, Justices & Constables County Courts, Provinciall Courts and assemblies.

The best next town in this Province on the delaware is Newcastle 40 myles below philadelphia towards ye Sea is a prettey town, builds ships and hath merchants resideing in itt. Here live many Swedes formerly Banished theyr own Country For misdemeano$^{rs}$, here live well, & have good farmes and under English gouuernment.

The Streetes of Philadelphia are unpaved at present, So being on a Levell are Subject to be dirty in any wett, but continue not long so, being under y$^{e}$ turfe a sand that drinks up all moisture. Here are good wells & handsom pumps they afect balconies very much & few houses want them, especially such as looke into the River, the houses are most brick though the Country yields a good square stone for Building I saw many good Staires of itt to ascend from the water streete next the River up into the first streete in the Citty. The ascent from the River brinke into the town in some places being very steep, they have cutt passages for carts, & arched them over very strong and handsome. They publish all theyr marriadges and bargaines by affixing a paper on the meeteing house door. I took notice of one that was to give notice where Gilliflowers were to be sold. and so much of the City of Philadelphia in Pensylvania I continued here Saturday. July 3 Sabath day July: 4$^{th}$ munday July 5$^{th}$ Tuesday. July 6$^{th}$ Wednesday. July 7$^{th}$ Continued at Philadelphia.

Thursday July. 8$^{th}$ went down y$^{e}$ delaware in y$^{e}$ ordnary passadge boate for Newcastle 40 myles from Philad. about ½ way is Chester an old settlement, that hath a good creeke for Security of sloopes, a town house, & a quakers meeteing house, a prison under y$^{e}$ town house & Containes about 50 families. thence to Newcastle is 20 myles, this is also an auncient settlement, here is the Custom house a small Ruinated Church— a prettey town house, on which they hoÿst the Kings flag at approach of any 3 masted Vessell which may be espyed comeing in (at a good distance) out of delaware Baÿ, they have Six Iron guns mounted on y$^{e}$ Bank but hardly large enough to comand the River. Vessells also stopp here goeing down for Sea. [about 8 myles below n Castle is a Creeke, by w$^{ch}$ you may come to a neck of Land 12 myles over Crosse w$^{ch}$ are drawn goods to & from Mary Land & Sloopes also of 30 tunns are carryed over land in this place on certaine sleds drawn by Oxen, & launched again into the water on y$^{e}$ other Side.*]

friday July 9$^{th}$ at Newcastle, that evening returned to philadelphia, called on board the Charles Capt$^{n}$ Trent comander lyeing in the River

* The bracketed sentence has been transposed by the editor for the sake of context from its position in the manuscript as indicated by ellipsis marks in the next paragraph.

w^th^ Servants from Scotland, she is a goodly vessell of 250 tuñs, belongs to London, hath a Letter of mark, & 48 men, with 30 guns mounted the Comander entertained me with much generosity, & obliged me to lye on board him, whilst the tide made for us, for they usually spend 1 tid & ½ betwixt philadelphia & N Castle unless a good wind presents. Hence writt to W. R. by Cox his sloop bound that night away for Boston . . . Saturday July: 10 at Philadelphia Sunday. July: 11. Ditto—The minister is m^r^ Arrowsmith[43] setts the Psalm himselfe, & concludes it w^th^ the gloria patri in y^e^ forenoon & afternoon, his pulpit, and sound board is of wall-nutt wood, his church hath 2 porches N. & S. seates Locked, Bricked at the Bottom, a distinct seate for the gouverno^r^ & Lady to w^ch^ he enters at a perticular door. it cost 400^l^ Building, and 150^l^ for y^e^ ground, it hath a ch-yard. munday July 12. at Philadelphia Tuesday July. 13 at philadelphia Wednesday July 14 at philadelphia.

Thursday July 15. at 3 in the morneing tooke water at Philadelphia to return to Burlinton and arrived there about 7 y^e^ same day friday July. 16. at Burlinton Saturday July. 17—Ditto, staying for the post, & 2 gent^m^ of Yorke who might have been up that afternoon flood, but so horrible a thunder and Lightenings with much Rayn & tempests begann about 3 this afternoon, that the post, nor passadge boat could stirr out, & it continued in a very Extraordinary manner untill 4 this Morneing Being Sabath day July 18^th^ at Burlinton in y^e^ Province of West New Jersey.

Munday July 19, 7 in y^e^ morneing in company with the post, a Coole misty rainy day, tooke horse at Burlinton, & that night came to m^r^ Inians at Rareton River 50 myles from Burlinton. Tuesday July 20 (all alone) cam^e^ from mr. Inians to piscataqua 2 myles, to woodbridge 8 more, thence to y^e^ poynt at Elizabethtown 12 more No boate passeing lay at m^r^ Warrens [44] at y^e^ poynt that night wednesday July. 21. about 5 in y^e^ morneing a sloope tooke me in at the poynt, & haveing the wind fayr came to y^e^ Bridge at New-York by 10 of the Clock the same day. Thursday, July 22. at N.Y. friday July 23, at N.Y. Saturday. July 24. at N.Y. Sunday July. 25. at N.Y. munday 26 July went with m^r^ minnarz to Hemsted plaines tuesday 26. [45] July returned from Jamaica & Dr. Innis his plantation on Long Island to N. yorke—Wednesday. 27. July at N.Y. Thursday. 28. July. Ditto.

Friday. 29. July About 12 at Noone tooke my passadge from N.Y. on David the Jews sloope bound for Newport on Road Island, came down

[43] In *A History of the American Episcopal Church*, New York, 1935, William Wilson Manross says that the name of the first minister of Christ Church has not been preserved. A certain I. Arrowsmith, presumably a schoolmaster in deacon's orders, kept the Church people together.

[44] George Warren, who died September, 1697.

[45] From Tuesday, July 27th, through Friday, August 6th, the days of the month as Bullivant gives them are in error, being in each case one day short. On Saturday, August 7th, he finally catches up with the calendar.

the river with an easy gale and a tide, & passed hell gate, & so down to the white rock, and the 2 Islands called the 2 brothers when the wind vered, & came just a head of us, with much rayne thunder and Lightening, so that with turneing it to get a harbour we strained our Mast, & had like to have brought it by the Board, the Vessell lyeing along, & takeing in water at the scoopers, so at Last we were obliged to Let the mayn halliards runn at once, & under a short sayle, gott into Musketoo Cove on Long Island side. Saturday we put out againe (Vizt: July 30th) but it rained & blew so hard, we could go no farther than into Oyster bay harbour on Long Island, which is indeed a very secure & safe port, but Little frequented, having about 20 scattered houses on the sea side. here we were refreshed & Lodged on shoare. on Sabath day it Looked well, & we sayled again into the Sound, But the wind soone vered and came up against us with much rayne, & greate gusts, so were obliged to stand athwart the sound to the mainshoare of Connecticet and about 8 at night got into ffairfeild ship harbour, where we found Stephen Codman[46] just gott to an anchor before us, it proved a great storme, with much Rayne from this time to wednesday morneing, when it cleared up, & the mr being offered some Corn spent that day in takeing it aboard, & some part of the next day in the forenoon, vizt. Thursday the 4th day of August till about Noon when the wind comeing to WSW & a fayre gale we put to Sea out of ffairfeild Creeke, & stood on with a happy gale under the main of Connecticott & by night were on Breast of Connecticut River, & the wind continueing we determined to stand our Course on the outside of ffishers Island hopeing to passe by Block Island undiscried of the ffrench privateer which we heard was Cruiseing there a few days before, & accordingly by brake of day Left Block Island a Sterne of us, & soone raised Road Island & point Judith which we passed about the sun riseing, & with a Lively gale gott safe into Newport harbour on Road Island about 7 in ye morneing friday Aug: 5th 1697. Saturday Aug. 7th at Newport Sunday Aug. 8 at Ditto place then & there Buryed Walter Newbury Munday August 9th left Newport, lay that night at mr Childs at Seaconek, the Sign of ye Boare or as some call it ye 2 Brutes Tuesday Aug. 10. 1697. from Childs at Seaconek that night to Boston, in good health and peace, haveing been. 9 weekes & 2 dayes on this Journey or Voyadge, for which Gods name be praysed.

pr me Benja. Bullivant
Boston in New England
August. 10. 1697

[46] Presumably Stephen Codman (c. 1750–1706).

# BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

*Architecture, Ambition and Americans: A history of architecture, from the beginning to the present, telling the story of the outstanding buildings, the men who designed them and the people for whom they were built.* By WAYNE ANDREWS. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1955, xxv + 315 pages, 165 illustrations, bibliography, index $7.50).

*Reviewed by* DR. CARL BRIDENBAUGH, *Professor of History, University of California, Berkeley, California*

Just as any art requires intuitive and highly subjective qualities on the part of the practitioner, so also the writer of a history of an art is bound to be more subjective than, say, a historian of an industry. And this is just what we have in *Architecture, Ambition and Americans:* Mr. Andrews, well-known to all readers of this *Quarterly* as the genial and learned curator of manuscripts at The New-York Historical Society, is no exception of the rule. His is a highly personal chronicle of American architecture. His individuality expresses itself first in his determination to deal with the great houses of the past to the exclusion of humbler dwellings, civic structures, religious edifices, and other kinds of buildings, which many architectural historians would insist must be mentioned in such a volume. The sole departures from this scheme come with an occasional glimpse at and remarks about churches, and the chapter on Chicago, which, if the Windy City is to be included, must treat not the cult of elegance but its business architecture. A further and more significant indication of the author's individuality is his judgment of modes of design, degrees of taste, and pronouncements upon the work of those architects who "sold" their schemes and designs to eager or reluctant men and women of wealth. Finally, one senses the author's personality perhaps most of all ocularly, by the perusal of the 165 illustrations drawn from his well-known collection of architectural photographs. These superb "shots" are always intended to reveal the magnificance or the impressiveness of a building rather than to bring out the technical features of construction or design to suit the technical requirements of the architectural historian. The author is a devotee of the photographic art and a historian of Society with a capital "S" and his volume must be assessed from these points of view.

Mr Andrews wrote this book for the layman. By writing of the owners of the great houses of America as well as their architects in an intimate study, using the personal pronoun as a literary device, he conveys the impression of a cultivated and informed person wittily conversing about architecture in the drawing room with a friendly audience. He ranges over the entire history of building in this country, as he develops the theme that it has always been the money of the newly rich that enabled

architects to experiment, to dare to think in new terms, and to spend huge sums of other people's money on mansions intended more for display than for comfortable living. Now that large fortunes are no longer possible, the author finds in the sky-rocketing population of the West Coast the twentieth-century equivalent of the Big money, which has made California domestic architecture the most interesting and daring in the present world.

This is an intriguing work, one in which any alert person will find much to inform him, much to fascinate him, much to arouse and challenge both his knowledge and his already-held opinions—and always those photographs to delight his senses.

*American Painting: The Light of Distant Skies, 1760–1835*. By James Thomas Flexner. (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1954. xiii + 306 pages, 102 illus., biblio., index. $10.00.)

*Reviewed by* David H. Wallace, *Assistant Editor, The New-York Historical Society*

James Thomas Flexner stands almost alone among the historians of American art in his ability to see the interrelationship between our early artists and the life of their times. Blessed with the twin gifts of visual perceptiveness and human understanding, he has studied with imagination the works and lives of America's painters of the first century and a half and has interpreted them against the colorful background of Colonial and early Federal history. The result of his labors is more than a survey of American painting from 1670 to 1835; it is a major contribution to America cultural history.

The present volume, the second of Mr. Flexner's projected multivolume history, is in several respects a more satisfying work than its widely-hailed predecessor, *First Flowers of Our Wilderness* (Houghton Mifflin, 1947). For a writer like Mr. Flexner, whose natural bent is toward biography, the anonymity of many Colonial artists presented a difficult problem. Such nebulous personalities as the Freake limner, the Pollard limner, and the Patroon painters did not lend themselves to very convincing psychological analysis. In the latter part of *First Flowers*, however, and in the present volume the abundance of biographical information on most of the important painters gives greater solidity to Mr. Flexner's vivid characterizations.

For a biographer the later period is a rich field indeed. The erratic brilliance of Stuart, the monumental frustrations of Allston, Trumbull, Morse and Vanderlyn, and the always-fascinating phenomenon of the American abroad afford the student of character far more dramatic material than the more prosaic lives of Colonial artists, whose frustrations were largely technical and whose ambitions seldom soared so high. Mr.

Flexner has certainly made the most of these conflicts, but not for the sake of drama alone. His acute analysis of the stunted careers of the second generation of the National school leads to one of the most important theses of the book: that the failure of Allston, Trumbull & Co. was self-imposed, not, as they believed, the effect of aesthetic chlorophorm in the air of America. The nation did not fail its artists—both Allston and Trumbull were, for the time, most munificently subsidized—but the artists did fail the nation by dedicating themselves to a dying art form, historical painting in the grand manner, and ignoring their compatriots' need for artistic interpretation of the democratic spirit. Allston, like his own ill-fated Belshazzar, failed to heed the handwriting on the wall and saw the temple of his art crumble about him, while the people raised a new one with Cole, Bingham and Mount as its high priests.

*The Light of Distant Skies* has an air of tragedy contrasting strongly with the earlier volume. As its title suggests, *First Flowers* had a springtime quality of optimism, which carried through from the very first stirrings of the American vernacular tradition to the full flowering of Copley's untutored genius in pre-Revolutionary Boston. The sequel, too, begins on a hopeful note as Benjamin West sets off for his great European triumphs, but the mood changes as one artist after another trades off his native strength for the technical graces of a more sophisticated tradition. In Stuart and Peale alone does the dangerous blend seem to come off with brilliant success. Climaxed by the artistic suicides of Trumbull, Allston, Morse and Vanderlyn, the volume leaves one with an overwhelming sense of futility and frustration. "The light of distant skies," against which Bryant warned his friend Cole, was indeed a fatal willow-the-wisp leading the benighted traveler to his destruction.

Vividly presented, though with far less of the verbal lushness which somewhat marred the effect of *First Flowers*, generously illustrated with 102 black-and-white reproductions of varying quality, helpfully supplemented by a selective bibliography of sources for most of the artists treated, *American Painting: The Light of Distant Skies, 1760–1835* is the best interpretation yet to appear of that important transitional period in American art.

*Ezra Ames of Albany: Portrait Painter, Craftsman, Royal Arch Mason, Banker, 1768–1836; And a Catalogue of His Works.* By Theodore Bolton and Irwin F. Cortelyou. (New York: The New-York Historical Society, 1955. xix + 398 pages, biblio., index, illus. $4.95.)

*Reviewed by* Mahonri Sharp Young, *Director of The Columbus Gallery of Fine Arts, Columbus, Ohio*

The large book which Mr. Bolton and Mrs. Cortelyou have devoted to Albany's painter is a model of skill, zeal and presentation. From being an

artist of whom one wished to know more, Ezra Ames has become one of whom, apparently, there is no more to know. Mr. Bolton is of course an old and fine hand at this work, while Mrs. Cortelyou has become entirely attached to her prey. William Sawitzky had the beast in view, but this new team has brought it down. The account books in The New-York Historical Society were known, but no one knew that so much could be gotten from them; the canon of paintings was obviously capable of enlargement but no one dreamed that a list of 563 could be established, if not completely located or identified. The authors are to be envied their time spent digging in Albany, most charming of upstate cities, and in old courthouses and banks, the most expressive of nineteenth-century American monuments.

New Yorkers may be pardoned for finding it at least understandable that the artist's father should have moved to the Hudson River Valley from Massachusetts. The American carriage painter is an almost legendary figure, yet Captain Emes' son Ezra for many years made his living by painting Esquire Allen's chaise. And there are savory mentions of chimney pieces, signs and sleighs, fire buckets, clockfaces, "stands of colors," and lettering oyster kegs. Here is more documentary support, if rather late in date, for Mr. James Thomas Flexner's insistence upon the importance in American art of paintings other than portraits. For from the shop at the Sign of Raphael's Bust came not only mourning pieces and watering pots, engraved sleeve buttons and hair devices, but also landscapes, fancy pictures and, for his great patron DeWitt Clinton, a "Portrait of a White Lake Fish" and a "Portrait of a Lake Herring."

But the bulk of his work, of course, is portraiture and, as the authors point out, practically all his known portraits are of residents of New York State. By 1812 (Ames was born in 1768 and died in 1836), he became well known, if not famous, through that portrait of Governor Clinton which was the first picture ever purchased by the Pennsylvania Academy. His gift for catching a likeness is mentioned by contemporaries, and he became a National Academician in 1824, in the same elevation as Jewett, Asher B. Durand, and Henry Inman. It is very understandable, and flattering, that his portraits have sometimes been confused with the work of Stuart, Jarvis, and Vanderlyn.

Yet he did not forsake his adopted Albany for the metropolis. If he did not attain the very highest rank as a painter he became Most Excellent Grand High Priest of the Masons at a time when Masonic activities were not the calm social affairs of today. And he is the only painter who comes to mind who ended his career as president of a bank.

Ames is fortunate in his biographers, and the authors are to be complimented upon their monograph. It is to be hoped that other equally good painters will be as fortunate. Mr. Bolton is famous for his phrase: "The essay passes, the catalogue remains." In this instance it is safe to say that both will be with us for many years.

*Cumulative Record of Exhibition Catalogues: The Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, 1808–1870; The Society of Artists, 1800–1814; The Artists' Fund Society, 1835–1845.* Compiled and edited by ANNA WELLS RUTLEDGE. (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, Independence Square, 1955. v + 450 pages, index. $6.00.)

*Reviewed by* THEODORE BOLTON, *Librarian, The Century Association, and historian of American Art*

Since the volume I have under review is obviously an indispensable reference work, all that is required of me is the pleasant task of describing it; and, simultaneously, of discussing some of the less obvious uses to which it might be put.

To begin with, the volume is a vast cumulative record of the names of painters, sculptors, architects, and workers in the graphic arts, with titles of their work, found in exhibition catalogues of the three major art associations in Philadelphia, from 1800 to 1870. The record taken from the catalogues of the Society of Artists, which lasted from 1800 to 1814, is complete. The record taken from the catalogues of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, during 1807 to 1870, contains an hiatus for the years 1835 to 1845 which fortunately is filled by the annual exhibition catalogues of the Artists' Fund Society for those years during which the Academy staged no annual exhibitions of its own. Miss Rutledge explains that: "As the Artists' Fund Society was so bound up with the Pennsylvania Academy, and as the entries from the Artists' Fund Society's ten annual catalogues supply a continuity of exhibits, and continuous chronology of exhibitors, they are included in this record."

Miss Rutledge's Philadelphia exhibition record is similar to several equally indispensable compendia for other cities, notably (for New York) Mary Bartlett Cowdrey's *National Academy of Design Exhibition Record 1826–1860* and her *American Academy of Fine Arts and American Art-Union, 1816–1852;* and (for Boston) Mabel Munson Swan's *Athenaeum Gallery, 1827–1873.* In format, Miss Rutledge's volume is similar to *The Royal Academy of Arts, A Complete Dictionary of Contributors and Their Work from 1769 to 1904,* the monumental work in eight volumes compiled by Algernon Graves.

Miss Rutledge has arranged her material in three sections. The first and largest section she entitles: "Index to Artists." Herein she records, in alphabetical order, the names, the birth and death dates, and the addresses of all the artists who exhibited at the three major art associations in Philadelphia from 1800 to 1870; and under each name she notes when, where, and what they exhibited; and the names of the owners of the works on display. Obviously the immediate use of the volume will be as a dictionary of artists. It is true that there are a number of old masters listed; but the preponderance of the names included are of artists resident, during the period covered, in Philadelphia and New York.

Another use for this first section of the cumulative record Miss Rutledge indicates in her foreword: "The works by American artists augment known check-lists, and will add many paintings to monographs on artists and their works which are now in progress." One will find listed, for example, about 70 paintings and drawings by Henry Inman; about 48 portraits, a still life, and a figure composition by C. W. Peale; about 140 portraits in oil and miniature by John Neagle; about 80 portraits by Gilbert Stuart; and eleven columns of portraits by Thomas Sully. Thus some of this wealth of material does indeed "augment" the published checklists of these artists' work.

Reverting to the names of foreign artists, one finds still another use for the first section of the record. It is a contribution to a history of artistic taste in America. The Philadelphia collectors from 1800 to 1870 showed a great interest in old masters, especially Titian, Corregio, Guido Reni, Rubens, Rembrandt, and Salvator Rosa. It was, apparently, not until the end of the period that the collectors became interested in contemporary European art. One finds listed among these: four by Bouguereau, two by Horace Vernet, and one by Vibert.

But American taste from 1800 to 1870 was by no means confined to an interest in the old masters. One finds the second section, entitled "Index to Owners," of use in tracing still further the history of American taste. One discovers that the American collectors were generous patrons of work by American portrait and landscape painters. Under each owner's name is a list of the works of art belonging to him. One enthusiastic collector, named Harrison Earl, owned about 320 pictures, showing that the preponderance of his interest was in American work.

This interest in American work was not so restricted to a demand for portraiture as one might imagine when one recalls what Henry Inman termed "the rage for portraits" during his times. One finds in the third section, entitled "Index to Subjects," the titles, with the names of artists, of numerous landscapes grouped under the names of States, including all those along the seaboard from Maine to South Carolina. There are city scenes of Boston, New York, Trenton, Philadelphia, Baltimore, and Washington. There are listed numerous river scenes including, as might be expected, the Delaware River, the Schuylkill River, and Wissahickon Creek, and they are grouped under these headings. Then mountain scenes and lakes are specifically listed according to locality. Indeed, when the history of American landscape painting is written, the historian will draw heavily from Miss Rutledge's record as well as from Miss Cowdrey's compilations cited above.

It remains to be said that the foreword, in which Miss Rutledge traces the histories of the three associations whose catalogues she has examined, forms a portico to the impressive storehouse of information she has so carefully transcribed, and so intelligently arranged.

*Westward the Way: The Character and Development of the Louisiana Territory as Seen by Artists and Writers of the Nineteenth Century.* Edited by Perry T. Rathbone. (St. Louis: City Art Museum of St. Louis, and Walker Art Center, Minneapolis, 1954. 280 pages, illus., some in color. $3.95.)

*A Catalogue of the Frederic Remington Memorial Collection.* With a Chronology and notes by Harold McCracken. (Ogdensburg, New York: The Remington Art Memorial and The Knoedler Galleries, New York, 1954. 73 pages, illus., 2 in color. $5.00.)

*Reviewed by* Dr. R. W. G. Vail, *Director, The New-York Historical Society*

Present-day interest in the romantic pictorial history of the Plains and the Rockies during the period of their exploration and settlement has resulted in a flood of books, picture albums and exhibits in this field. Our people, having been attracted to this period of our history by our earlier dime novels of the West, our motion picture "Westerns" and our television "horse operas," and, perhaps in protest against the abstract artists whose work they cannot like or understand, have turned to the romantic days of our frontier for their historical reading and artistic enjoyment.

As a result, there have been numerous and notable temporary exhibits of the art of the West in our galleries, two of which have published attractive illustrated catalogues of lasting value. The most thrilling of these exhibits, commemorating the sesquicentennial of the Louisiana Purchase, was held in the City Art Museum of St. Louis with the added sponsorship of the Walker Art Center of Minneapolis and resulted in the publishing of a splendid catalogue: *Westward the Way*, which records, with reproductions of the pictures shown, and with full artistic and historical descriptions of each—the colorful pageant of the opening of the West. Here we see pictured the men and life of the old West, the plains Indians, fur trappers, mountain men, the emigrants crossing the plains, the hunters, soldiers, the now-vanished birds and animals of the region, and the frontier forts and towns which sprang up along the trails of the pioneers.

The enthusiastic promoter of this exhibit was Perry T. Rathbone, then Director of the City Art Museum of St. Louis and now Director of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, who wrote the introduction to the catalogue and six essays on the land and the people who inhabited it. Frederick E. Voelker, historian, writer and authority on the history of the region, contributed an essay on the "History and Character of the Louisiana Territory"; Catherine Filsinger and William N. Eisendrath, Jr., selected the illustrations and provided the commentary; and the catalogue ends with biographical sketches of the 43 principal artists, including such famous names as Audubon, Bierstadt, Bingham, Blakelock,

Bodmer, Catlin, Eakins, Eastman, King, Lewis, Moran, Palmer, Remington, Saint-Mémin, Tait, and Wimar. The 223 illustrations include four in color and the whole pageant unfolded in this charming exhibit and catalogue is one of the finest pictorial records we have of the winning of the West.

Our readers will remember the splendid Frederic Remington show held in our galleries in 1947–8 and the accompanying lecture by Mr. Harold McCracken. This was the first important exhibition of the works of the famous artist of the old West and was based on selections from the artist's own collections, generously lent by the Remington Art Memorial at Ogdensburg, New York, with many additions from public and private collections. An even larger exhibit, also planned by Mr. McCracken, the biographer of Remington, and made up exclusively of the oil paintings, watercolors, sculptures and other collections of the great artist owned by the Ogdensburg museum, was shown in 1954 at the Knoedler Galleries in New York as a means of attracting much needed support to the museum.

The *Catalogue of the Frederic Remington Memorial Collection* which accompanied the exhibit is a volume of historical importance and great charm. The chronological account of the artist's career and the notes for the catalogue were written by Mr. McCracken. The 79 illustrations include reproductions of 32 of Remington's oil paintings (two in color), 19 of his sketches, 14 bronzes and 13 photographs relating to his history. Many of these pictures were not previously published and are of great artistic and historical interest. Remington's many admirers will want this fine catalogue to place on their shelves by the side of Mr. McCracken's excellent life of the artist.

*The Fateful Voyage of Captain Kidd.* By Dunbar Maury Hinrichs. (New York: Bookman Associates, Inc., 1955. 203 pages, illus., notes, biblio., appendix, index. $3.50.)

*Reviewed by* Lawrence H. Leder, *Department of History, New York University*

Hung for murder and piracy in 1701, William Kidd has become a lively legend, both of New York and the sea. He is certainly one of the most romantic and best-known figures of the late seventeenth century. In the popular mind, his name is a synonym for piratical exploits. So interesting a character is he, that many who put pen to paper have fallen under his spell.

With a plethora of books and articles about him in print, is there any justification for another study? Mr. Hinrichs certainly thought so and this reviewer must agree with him. The Captain has been alternately glorified and vilified over the centuries. Yet, until Mr. Hinrichs' study, no one has pieced together the actual record. If Captain Kidd is to be

adjudged either pirate or privateer, we must first understand the events that occurred on the "Fateful Voyage" which began in New York City in 1696 and ended in Boston in 1699.

No landlubber himself, Mr. Hinrichs has traversed much of the area frequented by Kidd, familiarizing himself with the landfalls, tides, and winds encountered by that seventeenth-century mariner. Moreover, he has unearthed new and vital documentary evidence in the Royal Danish archives which will undoubtedly put to rest some of the tall tales that have evolved about certain of Kidd's activities and, in particular, the location of the fabled treasure of the *Quedah Merchant*.

Indeed, Mr. Hinrichs is completely at home on the bounding main. Taking the stories of Kidd, his crew, and other eye-witnesses, he has placed them side-by-side and evaluated them. Wading through a welter of contradiction and outright perjury, he has assembled the tale of Kidd's adventures. Some illusions will undoubtedly be shattered, for Kidd emerges, not as the blood-thirsty pirate who marooned his own brother-in-law, but as a privateer who vainly fought to keep a mutinous crew under control. Though the glamour of fiction is shorn away, the excitement of fact remains.

It is unfortunate that Mr. Hinrichs did not devote the same degree of enthusiasm to his analysis of the background of the "Fateful Voyage." By over-reliance upon secondary accounts, he has fallen into the error of simplifying the background too much. Thus Kidd emerges as an unwilling and unwitting tool of his backers, Robert Livingston and the Earl of Bellomont, while they emerge as black-hearted villains. Actually, Kidd had gone to London purposely to seek royal employment. When he was offered the command of the *Adventure Galley* with a Royal Commission and an Admiralty Commission, he must have been as eager to accept it as his partners were to have him. True enough, the whole affair left a sour taste in his mouth when he found himself facing the hangman's noose, but it is dangerous to accept Kidd's later version of the origins of the "Fateful Voyage" without question.

The use of Livingston and Bellomont as foils to prove Kidd an honest man is unnecessary. The unfortunate Captain requires no such device; his story is pathetic enough to win the reader's sympathy. Though a seaman *par excellence*, he was no politician. That is his tragedy. Had he not become enmeshed in the bitter partisan politics of England and New York in the 1690's, he would not have suffered the death of a pirate and a murderer in 1701.

Despite the inadequate interpretation of the background of the "Fateful Voyage," Mr. Hinrichs has done an admirable job of resolving many of the disputes about the journey itself. Indeed, he has laid to rest hoary myths that long since deserved interment. As an important contribution to the literature of Captain Kidd, this volume deserves a place in the libraries of those who are intrigued by the lore of New York and the sea.

*A Dangerous Freedom.* By Bradford Smith. (New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1954. 308 pages, biblio., index. $3.95.)

*Reviewed by* R. W. G. Vail, *Director, The New-York Historical Society*

In these days when individual thought and action are threatened, it is important for us to restudy our "dangerous freedom," as De Tocqueville described it—the right of assembly, guaranteed by our Constitution, and made use of by Americans in a manner unparalleled in the whole history of mankind.

Beginning with our colonial period, which the author has restudied so well in his lives of William Bradford of Plymouth and Captain John Smith of Virginia, Mr. Smith emphasizes our national trait of operating through voluntary groups of individuals. Our ancestors organized and operated village republics long before there was organized government in the colonies. When our freedom was threatened by the mother country, volunteer groups calling themselves Sons of Liberty were formed to fight for our rights. Our frontiers were developed through the formation of voluntary organizations of land companies and the frontiersmen helped each other through the group organization of house-raising bees, quilting parties, the group building of churches, schools, bridges and roads, and even, in the case of Oberlin College, for the building of a seat of higher learning. "Voluntary association was the essential instrument by which the American continent was settled."

The pioneers crossed the plains in great wagon trains brought together by group effort for mutual protection and aid. And when they reached their goals they set up voluntary provisional governments, organized agricultural or mining groups and Vigilante committees to protect their interests before formal law and order were established. As feeling against slavery developed, voluntary anti-slavery societies sprang up everywhere and the Underground Railroad aided escaped slaves to secure their freedom.

Idealistic groups with a religious or socialistic background formed Brook Farm, the Shakers, the Owenites, the Fourierists, the Oneida Community, the Hopedale Community, the Amana Society and many others. Other voluntary organizations, many of them founded by or largely made up of women, organized temperance societies, lyceums, the Chautauqua Assembly, the American Woman Suffrage Association, the League of Women Voters, the General Federation of Women's Clubs, and the Women's Christian Temperance Union.

The men, too, were busy with their problems and, to protect the rights of the working man, we had such organizations as the Knights of Labor, the American Federation of Labor, the radical Industrial Workers of the World and many other forerunners of the present powerful labor federations. The farmers also organized under the Patrons of Husbandry, later

known as the Grange, the American Farm Bureau Federation, and many farm cooperatives.

Being a nation of joiners, we founded voluntary organizations for many purposes including the social and self-help fraternal orders, the Red Cross, Y.M.C.A., Y.W.C.A., Y.M.H.A., Knights of Columbus, Boy and Girl Scouts, Campfire Girls, Community Chests, service clubs such as chambers of commerce, Rotary, Kiwanis and Lions, Parent-Teacher Associations, Visiting Nurse Associations and Associated Charities, to name only a few. Many of our voluntary groups have reached out to other countries and have aided the United Nations, itself a voluntary organization for the benefit of all mankind. The history, method and success of this typically American phenomenon is fully covered in this interesting and thought-provoking volume.

The author says truly that "Without voluntary association, individuals become the pawns of the all-powerful state. . . . But behind the instinct [to organize and "do something about it"] lies the essentially moral idea that if men want to be free, they must serve each other, for no man is strong enough to be free by himself."

*The Solitary Singer: A Critical Biography of Walt Whitman.* By Gay Wilson Allen. (New York: Macmillan, 1955. xix + 616 pages, index, illus. $8.00.)

*Reviewed by* F. DeWolfe Miller, *Department of English, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, Tenn.*

Allen's *Whitman* is the fourth in a homogeneous group of biographies about major American writers who flourished a hundred years ago. With Quinn's *Poe*, Rusk's *Emerson*, and Howard's *Melville*, it sets a new style in a type of modified definitive biography. Taken together, these four books chronicle much of the culture of rising nationalistic America.

Among the world's secular men, Lincoln is the subject of more biographical writings than any other. It has been asserted that Whitman, whose name is closely associated with Lincoln's, is second—though by a large margin. Whether this is true or not, it is obvious that Professor Allen, in preparing his biography had a staggering task if he undertook to do no more than read and pass judgment on published materials. Of course he has gone far beyond this in inspecting, over a long period of preparation, all available manuscript sources as well, with the result that *The Solitary Singer* approaches the meticulous accuracy of Rusk's *Emerson*, a book which could hardly be surpassed for careful documentation. In doing so he has written the best in a long series of biographies of the man who in his desire to become the national poet deliberately set about the task of plowing his name into American history.

Whitman's own concern for history was paradoxical. In his poetry, or in the first stages at least, he tended to neglect the past and abjure the future in his intense celebration of the present. Neither America nor his

own family had a past, in the sense that other nations and families had, and so in his poetry and in much of his prose he celebrates the democrats who appear en masse, and leaders who come without coats of arms. And yet Walt gives daily token throughout his career of being the only genealogist among the Whitmans and Van Velsors, and while the Civil War rages he goes on what seem self-appointed assignments to report the centennials of churches and to inspect and report on old tombstones. It was from stresses and strains of this kind (of which he was quite unconscious) that many of his poems are derived, as either rationalization or idealization.

In another paradox, the "solitary singer" sang songs of such deep feeling that one would expect him like his thrush to escape the crowd. Then he turns, writes ads for his poem, and notices of the ads, tells us "all about the bird" in a self-review in one paper, while he calls attention to the review in another. It is evident in Professor Allen's book that Whitman was one of America's great men, with complexes enough, as Walt might say, to "stagger sextillions" of psychologists.

*Historic Germantown from the Founding to the Early Part of the Nineteenth Century, A Survey of the German Township.* By Harry M. Tinkcom and Margaret B. Tinkcom, and Grant Miles Simon, F.A.I.A.; Preface by Harold D. Saylor. (Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society, Independence Square, 1955. vi + 154 pages, biblio., index. Profusely illustrated. $5.00.)

*Boston Architecture, 1637–1954, Including Other Communities within Easy Driving Distance.* By Henry-Russell Hitchcock. (New York: Reinhold Publishing Corporation, 1954. viii + 66 pages, 63 illus. Wrappers. $1.25.)

*The Architecture of Baltimore.* By Richard H. Howland and Eleanor P. Spencer. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1953. 149 pages, 108 illus. $7.50.)

*Reviewed by* Theodore Bolton, *Librarian, The Century Association, and historian of American art*

There is a civic interest sufficiently active to ensure the preservation of architectural landmarks in a number of communities; and the first book under review is a report on one of these projects. The volume, entitled *Historic Germantown from the Founding to the Early Part of the Nineteenth Century*, is the report on a project, started during the autumn of 1951, designed to restore and preserve the buildings of Germantown so that the township will remain an attractive community in which to live.

In the introduction, Harold D. Saylor states: "The history of Germantown is published to aid in a program to save buildings of the area which should be preserved, and to make them available for appropriate use in the life of the community." The history is by Grant Miles Simon; the survey,

by Harry M. Tinkcom and Margaret B. Tinkcom. The historian has written a very readable narrative account of the founding of Germantown until fairly recent times, illustrated with reproductions after pictorial documents. Following this history, the surveyors present in a most convenient form for reference, a mass of information in picture and text relating to seventy-six houses along Germantown Avenue and the vicinity, based on historical and architectural studies. For each house they give an historical account, an architectural description, a line-cut of the floor plan, and reproductions after photographs of the house. One is able to locate the buildings on a detailed map published in four sections on the flyleaves, front and back. Ostensibly a report, the volume is likewise a guide book.

Reverting to the introduction, one finds presented here the results of individual and collective efforts that have been made to preserve the township. Individual efforts have been successful in saving a number of notable structures in and around Germantown, among them: Stenton, Loudon, the Rittenhouse group of houses, the Johnson House, Grumblethorpe, Upsala, the Chew Mansion, and Wyck. The first two are owned by the city; the next three are owned privately; and the last two have remained in the possession of descendants of families identified with them.

But unfortunately individual efforts have been unable to cope with the trend in the demolition of houses to make place for business structures; indeed, Mr. Saylor writes: "many notable structures are gone forever." However, collective efforts are now being made to cope with the trend. Mr. Saylor writes: "The Philadelphia Historic Buildings Committee will assume the responsibility for preserving and restoring, not only in Germantown but elsewhere in Philadelphia, all ancient buildings which because of their historical and architectural values are deemed worthy of preservation."

The members of this committee serve the community in more than an advisory capacity. They form an active group. One learns that: "If legislation by the commonwealth of Pennsylvania is necessary to empower the Mayor and Council of Philadelphia to enact necessary laws, steps will be taken to secure this legislation. There is precedent for such legislation. In New Orleans that part of the old city identified with the French and Spanish occupation has been preserved by the Vieux Carre Commission created by city ordinance. The Commission has the power to protect ancient structures from destruction and to prevent any exterior alteration which would impair their distinctive character."

One also learns that: "Other communities in the south have taken similar action. In Charleston, South Carolina, an ordinance enacted in 1924 created a board of Architectural Review with power to pass upon the appropriateness of the architectural features of all buildings erected, reconstructed, altered, restored, or used in Old and Historic Charleston, wherever such features are visible from a public street or way." Alexandria, Va., in 1946, Williamsburg, Va., in 1947, and Winston-Salem,

N. C., in 1948, adopted zoning ordinances creating historic districts and giving Boards of Architectural Review or of Zoning Appeal, powers quite similar to those exercised by the Charleston Commission."

One learns, finally, of the financial and legal support that is being given to the Germantown project; and one looks forward with the greatest interest to the outcome of the project which is as elaborate and interesting, in its way, as the restoration at Williamsburg.

The next work under review is of a different character and in a different format. It is a booklet assembled by Henry-Russell Hitchcock, entitled: *A Guide to Boston Architecture, 1637–1954*, and is precisely what the title indicates. Sponsored by the Massachusetts State Association of Architects, it was issued for distribution at the American Institute of Architects Convention held in Boston, during 1954. It is the third guide to be published for delegates to an annual convention of the Institute. A double-page map of Boston is quite adequate for the reader, or tourist, who wishes to locate buildings listed and described in geographical order, with suggested tours extending to such distant towns as Plymouth and Salem. While the booklet is a guide to architecture in Boston, and, as the sub-title indicates, "other communities within easy driving distances," it is also useful as a small history of American architecture within the Boston area. Of the significance, architecturally, of the ground covered, Hitchcock reminds the reader that: "the opportunity of studying the development of the American dwelling, from the Fairbanks House in Dedham of 1637 to those that have been rising in considerable profusion over the last decade or so in Lincoln, Lexington, and other communities surrounding Boston, is something no other part of the country can provide."

The third book under review is similar in its format to the book on Germantown, but different in its purpose and arrangement from both the other volumes. *The Architecture of Baltimore* is an expanded catalogue of an exhibition held at the Peale Museum in 1953, arranged in chronological order with the following headings: The Georgian Tradition, The Great Classic Revival Architects, and Design for the Industrial City. The reproductions include pictures of dwellings in the Garden Suburb Developments, and the typical Baltimore rowhouses with white marble steps.

All three volumes are attractive picture books. Although issued for different purposes—the first as a report on an architectural restoration, the second as a guide for architects attending an annual convention, and the third the catalogue of an exhibition—all the volumes are likewise of general interest. All have maps or charts, the reproductions are exceptionally clear, the selections are of artistic as well as historic interest, and the text is authoritative, so that not only architects and historians, but also interested laymen and tourists will find them indispensable guides to Germantown, Boston, and Baltimore; and librarians, too, will wish to procure them as accurate reference works for all readers interested in our architectural heritage.

*The Tastemakers*. By Russell Lynes. (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1954. xiv + 362 pages. Illus., biblio., index. $5.00.)

*Reviewed by* David H. Wallace, *Assistant Editor, The New-York Historical Society*

The contemplation of last year's fads, or those of the last generation or the last century, seldom fails to amuse. The pencil silhouette of the 1920's, the gingerbread house of the 1880's, the cloying sentimental art of the 1870's alike fill us with a mixture of horror and hilarity. We are at a loss to understand how Mother or Great-aunt Effie could ever have had such *bad taste*. It is to this question that Russell Lynes, editor of *Harpers*, addresses himself in *The Tastemakers*.

Although he writes with a light touch, Mr. Lynes feels strongly about "taste," which he rightly holds one of the finest faculties of the human mind, and his book is as much a condemnation of organized taste as it is a witty review of its visible effects. His thesis is that popular taste or choice in the arts (especially painting, sculpture, architecture and interior decoration) has been dictated since about 1830 by small numbers of dedicated promoters who by some inexplicable gift have been able to impose upon the public their own ideas of what is tasteful. These are "the tastemakers," the men and women who convinced our progenitors that Gothic Revival was more honest and appropriate to American living than Greek Revival and who today are extolling the virginal simplicity of the Japanese interior and the honesty of Wright. To the careers of a representative sampling of these arbiters of fashion Mr. Lynes devotes the greater part of the book—Eastlake, Downing, DeWolfe, and Tiffany among them.

To systematize the welter of delectable material within his scope, Mr. Lynes has distinguished three eras in American tastemaking since the end of the Federalist period: the ages, respectively, of Public, Private and Corporate Taste. The first, we are told, was characterized by the efforts of individuals, like Eastlake, and institutions, like the American Art-Union, to improve the general level of taste by exposing the public indiscriminately to the best in art and architecture. This was the heyday of the Gothic cottage and the Queen Anne house, the many art-unions, Thomas Jefferson Bryan's Gallery of Christian Art (now housed in The New-York Historical Society), and the "Artistic Craze" which swept the country after the eye-opening Centennial Exposition. The spirit of reform was abroad in art as well as in other fields of human activity and many a "highbrow," to borrow from Mr. Lynes' own amusing classifications, bent his efforts to raising a nation of "lowbrows" to his own high level.

With the relatively sudden appearance in the land of a flock of millionaires, most of them "low-" or at best "middlebrows," the tastemakers shifted their tactics and concentrated their forces in an attack on the haunts of the wealthy. The Age of Public Taste merged into the Age of Private Taste. Gothic cottages on the Hudson gave place to French

chateaux on Fifth Avenue and public galleries to the private collections built on lines dictated by Duveen and other enterprising art dealers. Elsie DeWolfe interiors, Tiffany glass, and Oriental booths adorned the palaces of the millionaires, and the masses were left more or less to their own devices or to the less exotic influences of the Sears & Roebuck catalogue.

As national magazines, automobiles, radio and other centralizing media brought unheard-of unity to the country in the 20th century, the tastemakers again shifted their sights and began gunning for an ever-larger prey, again the general public. With the help of an enormous captive, and largely submissive, audience, the makers of taste in our era, the Age of Corporate Taste, have become an important agency in an expanding economy.

Despite these recurrent shifts, Mr. Lynes points out, the tastemakers have produced no evident change in the level of individual taste. By appeals to morality and honesty, or merely by snob appeal, they have led the public docilely from one fashion to another *ad nauseam*, but good taste as a faculty of the individual mind has remained, as it presumably always will, the inborn heritage of a comparative few. The evidence of a century and a quarter, as presented here, indicates only that the taste of the tastemakers influences a greater proportion of the population than ever before. The result has been, not better taste, but greater uniformity.

Despite its essentially pessimistic view of American culture, *The Tastemakers* is a highly entertaining survey of fads and fashions in the arts of 19th- and 20th-century America, written with verve, impressive, though unobtrusive, in its scholarship, and admirably illustrated. It is a book which will stir up many nostalgic memories and not a few laughs at our own, as well as our forebears', expense.

*Forgotten Stories of the Finger Lakes.* By A. Glenn Rogers. (Geneva, N.Y.: The Author, 1954. 138 pages, illus.)

*Reviewed by* R. W. G. Vail, *Director, The New-York Historical Society*

The beautiful Finger Lakes region of Western New York is a land of strange and delightful legends and traditions, a land of history, of individual and often eccentric personalities, of courage, resourcefulness and accomplishment. Its people are proud of their traditions and so were greatly interested in the author's series of historical broadcasts conducted for five years over station WGVA from Geneva, New York, and were insistent that he publish them in book form.

Each of the 65 brief chapters of this delightful book tells a story about an interesting character or event in the history of a Finger Lakes town and each was based on careful research, conversations with hundreds of local people and many miles of travel over the hills and along the lakes of the region. It is a cause of great regret that this series should end with a

single volume. The 45-year-old author, business manager of radio station WGVA, died October 9, 1954, just 13 days after sending this volume for review.

Your reviewer has known many of these stories all his life, as well as some of their heroes who were still living in his boyhood, but most of them might never have been preserved had it not been for Mr. Rogers' interest in our past. Here you will find the stories of famous inventors, a great astronomer, a writer of hymns known the world over, a great industrialist, the perpetrator of a famous hoax, a fur trader, a famous grower of roses, a notorious outlaw, the man who saved Oregon, a mutineer, the founders of Mormonism and Spiritualism, pioneer suffragettes, a famous aviator, a seventeenth-century French general and the only Western New York battle, the founder of the Wells Fargo Express Company, the Peppermint King and many others, many of whose stories have more than local interest and all of which make delightful reading on summer sands or by a winter fire.

*Gilbert Stuart: A Great Life in Brief.* By James Thomas Flexner. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955. [vi] + 197 + viii pages, biblio., index. $2.50.)

*Reviewed by* David H. Wallace, *Assistant Editor, The New-York Historical Society*

It is sixteen years since Mr. Flexner wrote *America's Old Masters* (New York, 1939) in which he told the stories of America's leading early artists, including Gilbert Stuart. The present volume is a revised and expanded version of those Stuart chapters, now published as one of Knopf's new series of "Great Lives in Brief." The author's intended audience is a wide one, including many readers whose slight interest in early American painting has discouraged most art historians from attempting to popularize their wares. Mr. Flexner, however, has before this successfully braved the presumed indifference of the public, notably in his popular *Pocket History of American Painting*, and he may well do it again with this brief reasonably-priced life of America's best-known portrait painter. The biography of Gilbert Stuart, fortunately, lends itself to popular treatment, for he was a complex, fascinating man as well as a fine artist. Aided by a wealth of anecdotal material preserved (some of it possibly created) by earlier writers, many of whom had known Stuart well, Mr. Flexner tells vividly the story of a vivid life. In one important respect, however, the book is disappointing. The total absence of illustrations puts a strain on the reader's imagination which is only intensified by the author's sprited descriptions of Stuart's best portraits. The publisher's desire to keep the price low undoubtedly dictated the omission, but it is nonetheless unfortunate.

*The American Rebellion: Sir Henry Clinton's Narrative of His Campaigns, 1775–1782, with An Appendix of Original Documents.* Edited by William B. Willcox. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954. 658 pages. $7.50.)

*Reviewed by* Richard J. Koke, *Curator of our Museum and author of American Revolutionary studies.* His biography of Joshua Hett Smith, accomplice of Benedict Arnold, is to be published by this Society in the near future.

This is the solid source material from which history is written. The War of the American Revolution has proven a fertile field for historians. Volumes have thrown light upon its background and the campaigns. The 19th-century witnessed a profusion of studies by the great American historians on the history of the nation in which the Revolutionary struggle was prominently featured from the American side—a viewpoint not only due to patriotic fervor and indifference towards the British, but also due to limitation of available British source material. Volumes of American source documents—such as Force's *Archives*—came from the presses in the 19th-century. Papers of the Revolutionary leaders found their way into print and into public repositories for examination by scholars, but the British side, throughout most of the century, remained comparatively unknown insofar as primary sources were concerned.

American scholars of the 19th-century, in some instances, were not completely ignorant of European archives dealing with the war, but few had occasion to consult them. George Bancroft, for instance, whose name stands high in the annals of American historiography, delved deeply into European sources and secured voluminous transcripts of documents pertaining to the Revolution for his history of the United States, but his published work gave little evidence of the richness of sources which he examined and utilized. It was only with the publication of the reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission and Stevens' *Facsimiles* at the turn of the century, and delvings by American students into the rich sources in the Public Records Office in London that an inkling was obtained of the vast amount of untapped material bearing upon the Revolutionary War which existed in English repositories.

One reason for the seeming dearth of manuscript material in England was the fact that when the British officers left America at the termination of their periods of duty or at the cessation of hostilities in 1783 they took their papers with them as their personal property, and in years which followed these documents were often consigned to the oblivion of family archives. The growing interest in British source documents reached its first climax in 1926 when William L. Clements, Michigan steel manufacturer, purchased and brought to this country the manuscript papers of Sir Henry Clinton, who served as British Commander-in-Chief in North American from 1778 to 1782. The Clinton Papers unfolded vast possi-

bilities in the research field, for here were the original headquarters documents of the British high command opposing Washington.

For generations the names of prominent British generals who fought in the war have been well-known to every schoolboy. Gage is better known for his role in Massachusetts and his activities in connection with the outbreak of war at Lexington and Concord. Sir William Howe is better known for his indolence and his grand failures, for brilliant tactical victories and lethargic pursuits, for failing, time and again, to crush Washington when complete victory was in his grasp. Burgoyne is better known for his plan of 1777 to split the colonies, which ended in disaster on the plain at Saratoga. Cornwallis is better known for his fighting in the South and for the debacle of the Yorktown trap. But Clinton, who served in command longer than any other general except Washington, has remained comparatively unknown and his career in America usually has been ignored or briefly treated by historians.

Following the purchase of the Clinton Papers from his descendants, Clements presented the collection to the University of Michigan and it was deposited in the Clements Library at Ann Arbor. Among the thousands of important documents contained therein was Sir Henry's own personal narrative history of the war. This is the compilation which has now been published as *The American Rebellion*, truly one of the great source documents of the American Revolution as seen from the British side.

Henry Clinton (1738?–1795) was the son of George Clinton, colonial governor of the Province of New York from 1743 until his return to England in 1751. Young Henry grew up in New York, served in the New York militia, and later in the Coldstream and 1st (Grenadier) Regiments of Foot Guards. In the Seven Years War he served on the staff of the Prince of Brunswick and rose to the rank of colonel, but in the years of peace which followed 1763 Clinton's military career was as uneventful as that of most well-born officers. In 1764 he was appointed groom of the bedchamber to the Duke of Gloucester, the King's brother, and also was in attendance on the Duke of Newcastle, who in 1772 secured Clinton's election to Parliament. In 1774 he took a trip to the Balkans to examine the Russian army assembled there for the war against the Turks, and by the time he returned to England the government was making plans to coerce the rebellious American colonists in Massachusetts.

In 1775 Clinton, then a major-general, arrived at Boston with reinforcements for Governor Thomas Gage. In September he was made a local lieutenant-general. He participated in the Battle of Bunker Hill, served as second-in-command to Gage's successor, Sir William Howe, from 1775 to 1778, commanded the unsuccessful expedition against Charleston in 1776, served at the Battle of Long Island and in the New

York campaign, and in 1776–77 headed the British expedition which captured Rhode Island. In 1777, after being knighted by the King, and while Howe pursued his fruitless Pennsylvania campaign and abandoned Burgoyne, Clinton was left in command at New York. He alone, of the three British generals operating in the field that year, emerged with credit to his name, for it was he, on his own initiative, who headed the expedition up the Hudson to expedite Burgoyne's movements. Ignorant of the dire straits into which the latter had fallen at Saratoga, Clinton's troops captured the American forts in the Hudson Highlands, burned Kingston, and swept up the valley and threatened Gates' rear. Had Howe not chosen that most inopportune moment to demand reinforcements of Clinton, the Hudson River expedition, though it probably could not have saved Burgoyne because it started only a few days too late, at least had driven a wedge into the American Hudson Valley defense which could have been successfully exploited had Clinton's forces been able to retain their positions.

In 1778 Clinton succeeded Howe as Commander-in-Chief. Acting on orders, he evacuated Philadelphia and fought skillfully at Monmouth. His four-year period of command was highlighted by predatory raids along the coast and into the interior, but he complained bitterly that he was hampered in his operations by the failure to send sufficient reinforcements and supplies from Europe. His strategy and tactics certainly were sound. He hoped to force Washington to abandon the line of the Hudson, or fight a decisive battle under disadvantageous terms. But though he had plans, he never had sufficient troops available to carry them into operation. France's entry into the war forced him to cope with French fleets and offensives. Troops he had counted upon for his own operations were detached to the South or to the West Indies.

Moody, irascible, hated by many of his subordinates, and unable to work in harmony with his own generals and the fleet commanders, Clinton's lot was not a happy one. Twice he tried to resign. In 1780 he led the expedition which resulted in the capture of Charleston. He placed Cornwallis in command in the South, and then followed the Southern campaign which resulted in the surrender at Yorktown. For the Yorktown disaster Clinton had a large share of responsibility, but how far he can be blamed cannot be accurately defined. This, then, is the background of the man whose narrative has just been published.

Cornwallis' surrender touched off a bitter controversy between the two generals. After his recall to England Clinton tried in vain to obtain a parliamentary inquiry into his conduct, but it was refused, Clinton surmised, because Cornwallis had too much political influence, and pamphleteers began to saddle Clinton with the entire blame for the British disaster of 1781. He fought long and hard—unsuccessfully—to vindicate

himself. He spent the last twelve years of his life writing an account of his ill-starred military career in America in two large folio volumes which bore title of "An Historical Detail of Seven Years Campaigns in North America from 1775 to 1782." The narrative covered the period from his participation in the Battle of Bunker Hill through the Yorktown surrender and minor skirmishes in 1782 when he relinquished command. His purpose was to explain his own actions and why the British failed, and, though biased and intended as an apologia, it is a work of immense importance which reflects the reasoning of the man who for four years served as Washington's counterpart in command. The events Clinton covers have been often described, but never from the viewpoint of the British high command. It is the only extensive, first-hand account of the problems of the Commander-in-Chief on either side and reveals many details of American as well as British operations. It readily reveals too, that the British contributed as much to losing the war as the Americans or French did to winning it.

Clinton, appointed Governor of Gilbraltar in 1794, died in December 1795 at his isolated post on the Spanish coast before the manuscript was ready for the printer, and thereafter it remained unnoticed with his other papers in possession of his descendants until purchased by Mr. Clements. After its acquisition by the Clements Library the narrative became accessible to scholars, many of whom consulted parts of it, but few had occasion to read it all. With the exception of an excerpt of a few pages, the entire manuscript remained unpublished until the present volume of the "Historical Detail" appeared under title of *The American Rebellion.*

It has been admirably edited by William B. Willcox, professor of history at the University of Michigan, who has previously contributed articles on Revolutionary War strategy and tactics to several historical journals. Professor Willcox has contributed a critical 51-page introduction with an admirable analysis of Clinton's American career. His ample use of footnotes has enabled him to collate the narrative with copious citations from original letters and memoranda in the Clinton Papers which Clinton wrote at the time the events occurred, which frequently help to clarify the text. The editor's years of study of the Clinton Papers has been most beneficial, for Clinton's handwriting was abominable—sometimes undecipherable to his own secretaries—and only through Professor Willcox' knowledge of Clinton's penmanship has the purport of many documents become known. The value of the text is enhanced by an excellent appendix of over two hundred pages, wherein are published hundreds of letters and extracts of correspondence covering the years 1776–82 from Clinton' files on troop movements and the problems of strategy and tactics. This volume will be an indispensable source for any future intelligent study of the war.

*A Mirror for Americans: Life and Manners in the United States, 1790–1870, As Recorded by American Travelers.* Compiled and edited by Warren S. Tryon. (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1952. Three volumes: I. *Life in the East*, xx+230 pages, illus., index; II. *The Cotton Kingdom*, viii + 236 + v pages, illus., Index; III. *The Frontier Moves West*, viii + 321 + v pages, illus., biblio., index. Set $14.50; individual volumes $5.00.)

*Reviewed by* David H. Wallace, *Assistant Editor, The New-York Historical Society*

During the past thirty years there have appeared several anthologies of foreign travelers' impressions of America from the Revolution to the present. Notable among these have been Allan Nevins' *American Social History as Recorded by British Travellers* (1923, revised and reissued in 1948 as *America Through British Eyes*), Henry S. Commager's *America in Perspective* (1948), and Oscar Handlin's *This Was America* (1949). Now we are provided with a similar compilation from American writers and travelers between 1790 and 1870.

Appropriately entitled *A Mirror for Americans*, Warren S. Tryon's three volume anthology points up forcefully the vast curiosity about themselves which has always characterized the American people. This curiosity, compounded of vanity and self-consciousness, manifested itself not only in the devouring of foreign commentaries such as Mrs. Trollope's *Domestic Manners* and Dickens' *American Notes*, but even more in the creation of a vast number of native works on the same subject. Though Americans were much concerned to know what Europeans thought of their country, many also felt the need of seeing for themselves just what sort of country they were building and, for their own amusement or for profit, they published their impressions. Most of these were the work of amateurs, but so widespread was the interest of Americans in their own image, that a few hardy souls turned professional, Anne Royall for instance, and devoted themselves alternately to traveling through and writing about these diverse but united States. Northeasterners visited the South, Southerners the North, and both the West, and with varying degrees of perspectiveness and literary skill they passed on their impressions to an eager public.

Since regionalism provided a basis for much of America's curiosity about itself, the editor of this anthology has adopted a regional division for his three volumes. The first volume deals with the North, the second with the South, and the third with the West. Within each volume the arrangement is chronological, covering roughly the period between 1790 and 1870. Each volume is separately indexed and the third also contains a selective bibliography of American travel books written by Americans.

Since its coverage of the voluminous literature of American travel

is necessarily spotty, *A Mirror for Americans* will be for scholars more suggestive than directly useful. Its real audience should be that wide public which enjoys for its own sake the rich flavor of American history.

*Books and People: Five Decades of New York's Oldest Library*. By Marion King; with a Foreword by Hamilton Fish Armstrong. (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1954. ix + 372 pages, including illustrations and index. $5.00.)

*Reviewed by* Mary C. Wolf, *Cataloguer, The New-York Historical Society*

Marion King's history of the New York Society Library, written in observance of the Society's bicentennial, is an informal sketch of New York City's social history, as well as a series of reflections on literary tastes and world events. Allied with the Library since its inception, the Livingston, DePeyster, Armstrong, Beekman, and Schermerhorn families are among those lovingly chronicled by Mrs. King, as are such Library readers as Maude Adams and Mrs. Theodore Roosevelt.

The substance of this narrative covers Mrs. King's personal experience with the Library from 1907 to 1954, but her history is embellished with references to the Society's early years. There is the record of the "first official meeting on May 7, 1754, at the City Arms, the principal tavern in town," as well as this entry: "'The accidents of the late war having nearly destroyed the former Library, no meeting of the proprietors was held from the last Tuesday in April 1774 until Tuesday ye 20 December 1788.'" With but a lapse of these years, Mrs. King's history continues the story of the Society which Austin Baxter Keep began with *The History of the New York Society Library*, published in 1904. Mrs. King's salutes to progress are as emphatic as her "salute to the six young citizens who launched that hopeful enterprise in 1754."

*Books and People* will prove engaging and valuable to those interested in the Society Library and its socially prominent members, as well as to those wanting a portrait of New York when it was a city of congenial neighborhoods with appointed days for calling.

*Guide to the Manuscripts of the Kentucky Historical Society*. By G. Glenn Clift. (Frankfort: Kentucky Historical Society, 1955. iv + 185 pages. 150 copies printed.)

The collection of historical manuscripts is important when their whereabouts are made known to scholars through the publication of descriptive guides such as the one Mr. Clift has just prepared for the Kentucky Historical Society. This volume lists 1149 items from pioneer days to the present, including scores of large collections and hundreds of individual items. This important collection is arranged in ten groups including original papers, account books, church records, Confederate

pension records, diaries and journals, hotel registers, local records of the various counties, military records, tax books and vital statistics. It includes important letters from such outstanding people as Daniel Boone, Simon Kenton, Benjamin H. Latrobe, Dolly and James Madison, Chief Justice John Marshall, Franklin D. and Theodore Roosevelt, Isaac Shelby, John Cleves Symmes, Zachary Taylor, Martin Van Buren, George Washington, Anthony Wayne, and James Wilkinson. Each item is carefully described and the whole is made readily available through an excellent index of forty double-column pages.

R. W. G. V.

*Manuscripts Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society. Guide Number 2.* Compiled by Lucile M. Kane and Kathryn A. Johnson. (Saint Paul: The Society, 1955. xiii + 212 pages with index. Paper covers. $3.60.)

Twenty years ago the Minnesota Historical Society published Grace Lee Nute's and Gertrude Ackerman's *Guide to the Personal Papers* among its collections. That *Guide* described individually and indexed the 455 groups of "personal" papers collected by the Society during its first 85 years. *Guide Number 2* similarly catalogues the 1,180 manuscript collections acquired during the last two decades or excluded from the former publication as not being "personal." It therefore covers not only the wealth of recently acquired papers of individuals but also the records of political parties, labor unions, business firms, immigration companies, granges, churches, and social and cultural organizations. These naturally pertain primarily to Minnesota but so great is the variety and so wide the ramifications of the subject matter contained that students of contiguous regions and of national movements which involved the State will be grateful for this guide to sources they might otherwise have missed. The catalogue entries are alphabetically arranged by names of persons or organizations to which the manuscripts pertain and are numbered, beginning where the earlier *Guide* left off, from 456 through 1645. An excellent 37-page index analyzes the historical riches described in these entries.

C. E. B.

*Mr. Franklin: A Selection from His Personal Letters.* Edited by Leonard W. Labaree and Whitfield J. Bell, Jr. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1956. xx + 61 pages, 6 illus. in color. $3.75.)

This beautiful volume presents 27 delightful letters which best reflect their author's many-faceted career. Issued to commemorate the 250th anniversary of his birth, the book also gives a preview of the exhaustive riches promised in "The Papers of Benjamin Franklin" now in preparation for publication in about 25 volumes (*c.* 1959–1970).

# ACTIVITIES OF THE SOCIETY

A NUMBER of activities which began during the final quarter of the old year will be continued into the first quarter of the new. These include motion picture programs, concert series, use of the auditorium by guest organizations, special exhibitions, and, of course, our lecture series.

In October and November the Saturday afternoon showings of films relating to the "United Nations Birthday" were attended by a total of more than 1500 people. Then our December movie programs, appropriately devoted to "Children's Christmas Films," brightened three preholiday Saturdays for crowds of children and their parents. In the New Year, beginning on January 7th and ending February 28th, there will be shown each Saturday at 2:00 P.M. one of "Seven Feature Films of American History," selected for their unusual cinematic interest as well as for the significance of their historical content. Gordon Hendricks, well-known film critic, will give an introductory talk for each of them. And in March, five Saturday afternoons (each beginning at 2:00 P.M.) will be devoted to "Films of the Empire State," in connection with a special exhibition on that subject. These programs are free to the public.

The Society's Fourth Annual Concert Series, which opened on December 4th with the first of three Sunday programs of Christmas choral music, will continue on the first three Sundays of January, of February, and of March, with nine concerts of solo, chamber, and operatic music by outstanding instrumentalists and vocalists. They will commence at 2:30 P.M. and are open to the general public. A prospectus of the series has been sent to all members.

Our auditorium, where the School Art League met on October 29th for a film program on American folk art presented by Mr. Bilodeau and where the National Audubon Society held its annual meetings on November 12th, 14th and 15th, will also be available to guest organizations in the months ahead: The American Jewish Historical Society will meet there on February 11th, the Society of American Historians on February 14th, and the School Art League on March 10th.

Some of the special exhibitions which opened last year will be continued on view for a short time to permit a further opportunity for seeing them. "Menus from the Past," an exhibition of our Arnold Shircliffe Collection, which was introduced on October 4th with Mrs. Helen Sprackling's lecture, "History on the Table Top," will continue through January 15th. The exhibition of "Paintings by Ezra Ames," for which Mr. Robert G. Wheeler so ably set the stage with his November 8th lecture on "Ezra Ames and His Albany Circle," was removed on December 15th but only for the sake of giving upstate people a better chance to see it by having it placed on view at the Albany Institute of History and Art. A special exhibition of "Christmas Story Paintings" was opened for our St. Nicholas Festival on December 6th with a lecture on "The Christmas Story in Paintings" by Miss Margaretta Salinger of the

Metropolitan Museum of Art and will remain on view through January 15th.

The first of our 1956 monthly lectures for members and their guests will be given on Tuesday evening, January 10th, by Mr. Loring MacMillan, vice-president and museum director of the Staten Island Historical Society, on "Recreating Historic Richmondtown—200 Years of Life on Staten Island." The second lecture will serve to introduce on February 7th a brand new exhibition: "The Empire State," which will tell the story of New York beyond the borders of its metropolis from earliest times to the present, in paintings, prints, maps, models and dioramas depicting the State's economic, agricultural, commercial and industrial history. The exhibition will continue through May 1st and, during March, will be supplemented by five Saturday afternoon "Films of the Empire State." On the evening of March 8th the third monthly lecture will be given by Mr. Harold L. Peterson, collector and authority on American arms, his subject being "Early American Arms and Armor."

On Friday afternoons at 3:00 o'clock, beginning on January 6th and continuing through March 23d, Mr. Bilodeau will offer a course of eleven illustrated talks and gallery tours on American art. Similar in treatment to those he gave a year ago, this year's lectures will be concerned with the development of art and architecture in the United States from colonial times to the present. The general public, as well as interested members, are invited.

## RECENT ACCESSIONS

THE TELESCOPE (periodical), Vol. III, 1826–27—19 issues filling gaps in our volume. *Gift of the American Antiquarian Society*. [We also purchased Vol. IV, 1827–28, and the index to Vols. III and IV.]

Certificate of appointment of John Meyers as a New York City Fireman, December 23, 1791. *Gift of Mr. David M. Amram.*

Two cash books, 1792–1804 and 1843–1849, and ledger, *c.* 1828–1888, of the firm of James Ruthven, wood and ivory turner, 92 Fulton Street, established 1783, and of his successors, John F. Remmey (1815–1899), grandfather of the donor, and William T. Remmey (1856–1918), father of the donor, who continued the business at 352 Pearl Street until his death; two brass door plates of James Ruthven and 26 items manufactured or used by his firm; business card of J. F. Remmey; pamphlet on "Prices of Turning" (1817); and New York Business Directory for 1874. *Gift of Mrs. Albert Aston.*

Thirty-two photographs of the Steamboat *General Slocum* disaster, June 15, 1904, and rescue operations on North Brother Island; scrapbook of Capt. Samuel H. Berg, father of the donor containing two certificates of awards for, and clippings about, his own rescue work; Stenographer's Minutes of Captain Berg's testimony in the U. S. Dis-

trict Court, January 24, 1905, concerning the disaster; envelope of newspaper clippings about Captain Berg. *Gift of Mr. Herbert M. Berg.*

Hudson Valley Dutch kas which descended in the family of the donor. *Gift of Miss Irene M. Braman.*

Eighteen stereographs of Niagara Falls, ten stereographs and ten postcards of New York and vicinity, and 20 miscellaneous pamphlets and leaflets printed in or pertaining to New York City. *Gift of the California Historical Society.*

Classbook of Yale College, 1865, with photographs of the class members; 36 New York City newspapers and periodicals, 1760–1813, and ten 18th-century newspapers of Philadelphia and London. *Gift of Dr. William P. Comstock.*

Pamphlet about the United States Sanitary Commission (1863) and announcement, invitation, ticket, program and two pamphlets about the "Metropolitan Fair, in aid of the U. S. Sanitary Commission," 1864; 17 other pamphlets and books; 27 advertising circulars and trade cards of New York City merchants; 46 greeting cards; and 26 late 19th- and early 20th-century timetables of eastern railroads. *Gift of Miss Mary Constant.*

Hepplewhite-style mahogany sideboard, late 18th century. *Gift of Mrs. Helen Balfe DeMott.*

Portrait of James T. Powers (1862–1943) and Rachel Booth Powers, his wife, by Maurice Abbey, 1900; portraits of James T. Powers as Sir Pitt Crawley in "Becky Sharpe" and as Bob Acres in "The Rivals," both by Joseph C. Chase, 1926; 192 photographs of Mr. and Mrs. James T. Powers, separately and together; 47 books and pamphlets about the theater, eight play scripts and 27 theater programs from the James T. Powers Collection. *Gift of Mrs. Margaret DeVaney, in memory of James T. Powers and Rachel Booth Powers.*

Oil portraits of John Quincy Adams and of an unidentified 18th-century gentleman; letter of A. B. Woodruff to Amzi Dodd, dated Paterson, December 10, 1859, written on campaign circular: "The Next Presidency" for the nomination of William L. Dayton; *An Inquiry into the Present State of the Foreign Relations of the Union* . . . [by Robert Walsh (1784–1859)] (Philadelphia: 1806); and three pamphlets concerning Daniel Webster published in 1838, 1846, and 1878. *Gift of Mr. Harry G. Friedman.*

*A Catalogue of the Subjects Contained in the Hubard Gallery* (New York: 1824); five *Moody's Manuals of Investments* for 1953; 45 other books and pamphlets, mostly relating to railways and ferries; author's manuscript, *From Periauger to Diesel, or The Saga of the New York Harbor Ferries*, by Norvin H. Green. *Gift of the Estate of Norvin H. Green.*

Seventeenth-century Durtch kas. *Gift of Mr. and Mrs. William S. Halstead.*

Photograph by Rockwood of Leake & Watts Orphan House, 110th Street near Amsterdam Avenue, New York City, in the 1880's. *Gift of Miss Florence Hayden.*

About 500 letters and papers of the Hoffman family, 1796–1854, *Gift of Major William Wickham Hoffman, in memory of Mrs. Villiers Hatton (Emily Burrall Hoffman), widow of General Hatton of the British Army.*

Silver stock buckle which belonged to Philip Livingston, the Signer, the great-great-grandfather of the donor. *Gift of Mr. J. T. Jackson.*

Frederick Clarke Withers' indenture of apprenticeship as an architect, 1844, and ten letters and military documents pertaining to his service in the Union Army during the Civil War. *Gift of Mr. R. Keith Kane.*

J. Milbert's *Itinéraire Pittoresque du Fleuve Hudson* . . . (2 vols.; Paris: 1828–29), with 13 portfolios of lithographs; bound manuscript: laws and regulations of the Social Whist Club of New York City, August 28, 1794, signed by the thirteen original members. *Gift of Mr. C. Otto von Kienbusch.*

Collection of the published writings of Charles Brockden Brown (1771–1810), first American novelist, comprising: 103 volumes of first and early editions of his novels; 26 volumes of magazines in which some of the novels first appeared; 13 other books and pamphlets written, edited, or translated by Brown; William Dunlap's *Life of Charles Brockden Brown* (2 vols., 1815); Dunlap's edition of the *Memoirs of Charles Brockden Brown* (1822); and a bronze wall plaque with bas relief of Brown. *Gift of Dr. LeRoy E. Kimball.*

Double-woven coverlet made by Mary Salisbury, Jefferson County, N.Y., 1842. *Gift of Mr. Kenneth Salisbury Kirkland.*

Thirty-third Degree Masonic triangle which was presented to Asher Martin in 1815, the great-grandfather of the donors. *Gift of Mr. Edward E. Irwin Martin and Mr. Clinton R. Irwin Martin.*

Railroad Map of the United States, published by H. H. Lloyd & Co., 1871. *Gift of Mrs. J. Melniker.*

Oil portraits of Mathew B. Brady (*c.* 1823–1896), the photographer, and Edward Cooper, the brother of Peter Cooper, both by Richard Francis Nagle. *Gift of Mrs. M. Julia Mullaney.*

Album of 48 photographs of Confederate generals and other prominent citizens of the Confederate States of America. *Gift of Mr. Peter J. Mundorff.*

Eighteenth-century Pennsylvania Noah's Ark with animals. *Gift of Mrs. Katharine Prentis Murphy.*

Engravings (London, 1798) of John Trumbull's "Battle at Bunker's Hill" by J. G. Muller and of his "Death of General Montgomery" by J. T. Clemens. *Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Edward C. Parish.*

Fourteen woodcuts and etchings of New York City street scenes, 1936–1952, by the donor. *Gift of Miss Betty Waldo Parish, in memory of her father, William F. Parish.*

*Bradstreet's Wholesale Business Directory of New York City for 1876;* Glamorgan Land Association, *Letter from William A. Bradley . . . President . . . to the Committee in London* [1841]; *Prospectus for raising a Loan of £54,000 upon shares in the Glamorgan Land Association, U.S. 1841; The Cries of New-York* (New York: 1809); Frank P. Hardley, "Collection of material on the life and work of Joseph Ellicott" (typescript); *History of Coney Island* (1904); six pieces of Jenny Lind sheet music; *The London Chronicle*, January 1–June 30, 1767; Rober Munro, *A Description of the Genesee Country, in the State of New-York* (New York: 1804); *The Niagara Almanac for 1843* and the same *for 1845;* Ole T. Nystel, *Lost and Found; or Three Months with the Wild Indians* (Dallas: 1888); *The Life, Trial, and Condemnation of the Three Thayers! Who were executed . . . at Buffalo, New York, June 17, 1825; Yankee Doodle*, Vols. I and II (New York: 1846, 1847); oil portrait of Sir Thomas Hales by John Wollaston, 1744; miniatures of Brig. Gen. Philip Van Cortlandt by John Ramage and of John C. Calhoun by Washington Blanchard; watercolor self-portrait of Samuel Folwell (1765–1813). *Purchases from the Society's several accessions funds.*

Personal records of the late Commander Richard H. M. Robinson, U.S.N., father of the donor, including his press file, 1898–1902, 1906–1907, six notebooks on naval construction, and the log of the U.S.S. *Connecticut* on her voyage around the world, 1907–1908. *Gift of Mr. George F. Robinson.*

Photograph of Alfred Brookes, grandfather of the donor, and his family; two photographs of the Burlington (Vt.) home of Horace Loomis, great-grandfather of the donor, and stereograph of the shop where he conducted his business as a hide merchant. *Gift of Miss Mary Robinson.*

Collection of 44 framed photographs, and genealogical chart, of members of the Rogers and allied families, gathered by Alexander Parker Rogers (1874–1950), son of the sculptor John Rogers and husband of the donor; six other photographs of the Rogers family, miscellaneous letters, clippings and notes of Alexander P. Rogers. *Gift of Mrs. Alexander P. Rogers, in memory of her husband.*

Additional collection of material relating to John Rogers the sculptor (1829–1904), father of the donor, including over 300 photographs and daguerreotypes of the sculptor, of members of his and his wife's families, and of subjects used by him for such groups as "The Council

of War" and "The Fugitive's Story"; 250 manuscripts of various members of the family, including the sermons and diary, 1740–1751, of Rev. Daniel Rogers (1707–1785); correspondence, notes and charts pertaining to the genealogy of the Rogers and allied families; over one hundred miscellaneous clippings, books and pamphlets; oil portraits of Mrs. John Rogers and Laura Derby Rogers, both by Eleanor C. Bannister; life mask of Laura Derby Rogers, daughter of the sculptor; cameo portrait of David Green Francis, *c.* 1840; John Rogers' easel, modelling sticks and drafting instruments; collection of jewelry and other family mementoes. *Gift of Miss Katherine R. Rogers.*

Collection relating to the career of the donor's father, George Gunton (1847–1919), prominent writer on economics and sociology, first president of the Institute of Social Economics from 1890, director of the economic and sociological work of the Y.M.C.A. from 1899. The collection includes: 27 volumes, 1891–1904, of *The Social Economist* (changed in 1896 to *Gunton's Magazine*), which he edited; 29 volumes of his lectures issued in *Bulletins* by the Institute; and five books and 15 articles by Gunton, 1890–1901. *Gift of Mrs. Louise Gunton Royston.*

Sixteen catalogues of colleges in New York and New England, mostly issued from 1829 to 1866; 17 memorial volumes and pamphlets on 19th-century lawyers, educators and statesmen; 42 New York State almanacs, 1833–1861; and nine other almanacs, 1808–1851, all from the library of the late Judge Hand, grandfather of the donor. *Gift of Mr. Arthur V. Savage.*

Pair of knee buckles given by General Cornwallis in 1777 to Ann Rudolph (later Mrs. William Moore Smith), the great-great-great grandmother of the donors. *Gift of Miss Helen Burr Smith and Miss Henrietta Royer Smith.*

Color film, "The War of 1812," third in the series on the history of the U.S. Navy (for which much of the research was done in our Library and Map and Print Room). *Gift of the U.S. Navy Department.*

Seventy-five letters, 1835–1877, from James W. Beekman to Rev. Maunsell Van Rensselaer, grandfather of the donor, and one from Gerard Beekman, 1868. *Gift of Miss Maud W. Van Rensselaer.*

The Stuyvesant Family Bible (Leyden: 1636/7), in which Gerardus, grandson of Director-General Peter Stuyvesant, wrote his family record in Dutch; it is also inscribed by Gerardus' son, Petrus, and by the latter's son-in-law, Dirck Ten Broeck of Albany and Trenton. This is one of five known copies of the first Dutch Bible, three now being owned by the Society. *Gift of Major Edward Van Winkle.*

Collection of nine oil portraits by the donor of members of his family and others; several family daguerreotypes; genealogical notes and collection of books. *Gift of Mr. Charles Lennox Wright II.*

## CONDITIONS OF MEMBERSHIP

MEMBERS, on their election, pay ten dollars as dues, and thereafter on the first day of January each year a like amount, or a life-membership fee of one hundred dollars in lieu of all other dues and fees. The contribution of one thousand dollars to the funds of the Society entitles the donor to be elected a Fellow for life. The contribution of five thousand dollars entitles the donor to be elected a Patron of the Society in perpetuity.

Members have the privilege of attending and of inviting guests to all the lectures and other functions of the Society, and they will receive *The New-York Historical Society Quarterly* and its *Annual Report.*

Application for membership may be submitted to: Secretary, The New-York Historical Society, 170 Central Park West, New York 24, New York.

## APPLICATION FOR MEMBERSHIP

I herewith present my application for membership in the Society:

Name .....

Address .....

.....

Business or profession .....

Enclosed is my check to be used in payment of membership fee as indicated below, when I am elected:

..... Annual $10 ..... Fellow $1000

..... Life $100 ..... Patron $5000

I have the pleasure of referring to the following members of the Society with whom I am acquainted:

.....

.....

.....

[If you wish to state any special historical interests that you may have, please do so.]

Date .....

## FORM OF BEQUEST

*I give and bequeath to* "THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY," *founded in the year 1804 and incorporated in the year 1809, the sum of* .....*Dollars.*